

THE  
/ OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI /

VOLUME XLII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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## PREFACE

THIS part, in which the serial numbers enter the three thousands, consists largely of documentary texts chosen for the interest of their individual content. Some illuminate the history and administration of Roman Egypt. Others, in dated literary hands, have a palaeographic value (3030, 3034, 3051, 3076). Others again go beyond the Egyptian context, and contribute to the study of Roman law (3016), of the Roman Empire (3019-3023), and of the Early Church (3035, 3055, 3057).

Mr P. J. Parsons, who is responsible for this part, wishes to record his warmest gratitude for the many corrections and improvements (often not specifically acknowledged) which he owes to the other general editors and to Prof. H. Lloyd-Jones, Dr. M. L. West, and Prof. H. C. Youtie.

The compositors and readers of the Oxford University Press have exercised their customary skill and patience in the production of the volume. The index is the work of Dr. M. W. Haslam.

P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
E. G. TURNER

*General Editors of the  
Graeco-Roman Memoirs*

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## CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
TABLE OF PAPYRI	ix
LIST OF PLATES	xiii
NUMBERS AND PLATES	xiii
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION	xiv
NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS	xiv
NOTE ON THE TERMS 'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', ETC.	xv
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED PAPYRI	xvi

### TEXTS

I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS (2999-3013)	I
II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS (3014-3045)	51
III. DOCUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF PHILIPPUS ARABS (3046-3050)	110
IV. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS (3051-3056)	133
V. PRIVATE LETTERS (3057-3070)	144
VI. MINOR DOCUMENTS (3071-3087)	165

### INDEXES

I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS	175
II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS	181
III. CONSULS	184
IV. MONTHS AND DAYS	184
V. PERSONAL NAMES	184
VI. GEOGRAPHICAL	
(a) Countries, Nomes, Toparchies, Cities, etc.	188
(b) Villages, etc.	189
(c) Tribes and Demes	189
(d) Miscellaneous	189

## CONTENTS

VII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES	190
VIII. RELIGION	191
IX. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS	191
X. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY	
(a) Weights and Measures	191
(b) Money	191
XI. TAXES	192
XII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS	192
XIII. LATIN (3016)	204

## TABLE OF PAPYRI

## I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

2999. Hesiod, <i>'Hoïai</i> or <i>Μεγάλαι 'Hoïai</i> .	2nd/3rd cent.*	1
3000. Eratosthenes, <i>Hermes</i> . . . .	1st cent. B.C./1st cent. A.D.	3
3001. Homeric Verses . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	8
3002. Ethopoea . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	12
3003. Homeric Narratives . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	15
3004. Gnomology . . . . .	1st cent. . . . .	19
3005. Gnomology . . . . .	2nd/3rd cent. . . . .	22
3006. Gnomology . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	26
3007. Ethical Questions . . . . .	2nd/3rd cent. . . . .	28
3008. Prose about Dualism . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	30
3009. <i>Epistula Philippi</i> (Dem. xviii 221) .	2nd cent. . . . .	32
3010. Narrative about Iolaus . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	34
3011. Narrative about Amenophis . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	41
3012. Romance (Antonius Diogenes?) . . . . .	2nd/3rd cent. . . . .	43
3013. Argument of a <i>Tereus</i> ? . . . . .	2nd/3rd cent. . . . .	46

## II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

3014. Gnomon of the Idios Logos §§ 35-41 . . . . .	1st cent. . . . .	51
3015. Extracts from Court Records . . . . .	Early 2nd cent. . . . .	53
3016. Judicial Proceedings . . . . .	28 May 148 . . . . .	58
3017. Edict of Prefect . . . . .	c. 176/7 . . . . .	61
3018. Privileges of Paeonistae . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	64
3019. Decision of Severus . . . . .	9 March 200 . . . . .	66
3020. Letter of Augustus and Proceedings of Embassy . . . . .	Earlier 1st cent. . . . .	69
3021. <i>Acta Alexandrinorum</i> . . . . .	1st cent. . . . .	74
3022. Letter of Trajan to Alexandria . . . . .	98 . . . . .	76
3023. Proceedings before an Emperor . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	78
3024. Letter of Prefect . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	80
3025. Letter of Epistrategus . . . . .	17 July 118 . . . . .	81

\* All dates are A.D. unless otherwise stated.



3026. Official Correspondence . . . . .	c. 165/6 . . . . .	83
3027. Official Letter . . . . .	161-9 . . . . .	87
3028. Official Correspondence . . . . .	Earlier 3rd cent. . . . .	89
3029. Letter to Strategî . . . . .	Valerian . . . . .	91
3030. Official Letter of Royal Scribe . . . . .	31 March 207? . . . . .	92
3031. Official Letter of <i>Procurator Alexandriae</i> . . . . .	c. 302 . . . . .	95
3032. Publication of Official Letters . . . . .	218/19 or 222/3 . . . . .	96
3033. Petition to Prefect . . . . .	c. 45/7 . . . . .	97
3034. Sworn Declaration . . . . .	5 April 148 . . . . .	98
3035. Order to Arrest . . . . .	28 Feb. 256 . . . . .	99
3036. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	24 Feb. 298 . . . . .	102
3037. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	4 March 298 . . . . .	103
3038. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	4 March 298 . . . . .	104
3039. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	29 May 298 . . . . .	105
3040. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	17 Dec. 298 . . . . .	106
3041. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	14/23 June 299 . . . . .	107
3042. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	308/9 or 310/11 . . . . .	107
3043. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	3 Sept. 311 . . . . .	108
3044. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	312/13, 313/14 . . . . .	108
3045. Receipt for <i>Epiképhalaion</i> . . . . .	314/15 . . . . .	109

## III. DOCUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF PHILIPPUS ARABS

3046. Return of Uninundated and Artificially Irrigated Land . . . . .	244/5 . . . . .	110
3047. Declaration of Uninundated and Artificially Irrigated Land . . . . .	25 Feb./26 March 245 . . . . .	113
3048. Proclamation of <i>Iuridicus</i> and Registration of Corn . . . . .	17-18 March 246 . . . . .	122
3049. Deposit of Grain . . . . .	26 Jan./24 Feb. 247 . . . . .	125
3050. Proclamation and Official Letters . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	129

## IV. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

3051. Receipt for Arrears of Rent . . . . .	1 May 89 . . . . .	133
3052. Itinerary . . . . .	1st cent. . . . .	134
3053. Registration of Sale of Slave . . . . .	28 Oct./26 Nov. 252 . . . . .	136
3054. Registration of Sale of Slave . . . . .	26 May/24 June 265? . . . . .	139
3055-6. Orders to Supply . . . . .	284/5 . . . . .	141

## V. PRIVATE LETTERS

3057. Letter of Ammonius to Apollonius . . . . .	1st/2nd cent. . . . .	144
3058. Letter of Flavius to Morus . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	146
3059. Letter of Didyme to Apollonius . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	148
3060. Letter of Ptolemaeus to Horis . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	148
3061. Letter of Heraclas to Archelaus . . . . .	1st cent. . . . .	150
3062. Letter of Sarapion to Archelaus . . . . .	1st cent. . . . .	152
3063. Letter of Diogenes to Apollogenes . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	153
3064. Letter of Theagenes and Panechotes . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	155
3065. Letter of Arius to Agrippina and Cornelius . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	156
3066. Letter of Apollonius to Sarapammon . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	158
3067. Letter of Achillion to Hieracapolion . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	159
3068. Note about Amulet . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	161
3069. Letter of Aquila to Sarapion . . . . .	3rd/4th cent. . . . .	161
3070. Indecent Proposal . . . . .	1st cent. . . . .	163

## VI. MINOR DOCUMENTS

3071. Edict of Prefect . . . . .	Decius . . . . .	165
3072. Day-book of Strategus . . . . .	c. 197/200 . . . . .	166
3073. Day-book of Strategus . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	166
3074. Day-book of Strategus . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	167
3075. Formulary for Opening of Will . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	167
3076. Petition to Ti. Claudius Herennianus . . . . .	c. 225 . . . . .	168
3077. Census Return . . . . .	231/2 . . . . .	169
3078. Oracle Question . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	169
3079. List of Ships . . . . .	4th cent. . . . .	170
3080. Order for Supplies . . . . .	2nd cent. . . . .	170
3081. Account of Jars . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	171
3082. Letter of Agathus to Phantias . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	171
3083. Letter of Aur. Sarapiacus to Dioscorus . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	172
3084. Letter of Heraclius to Themistocles . . . . .	2nd/3rd cent. . . . .	172
3085. Letter of Hermias to Sarapion . . . . .	3rd cent. . . . .	172
3086. Letter of Nemesianus to Colluthus . . . . .	3rd/4th cent. . . . .	173
3087. Letter of Pataris to Nunechium . . . . .	3rd/4th cent. . . . .	173

## LIST OF PLATES

I. 2999; 3004; 3010	VII. 3014; 3055
II. 3000; 3005	VIII. 3016; 3070
III. 3001; 3013	IX. 3017; 3030
IV. 3006	X. 3020; 3035
V. 3007; 3011	XI. 3034; 3051; 3076
VI. 3008; 3009; 3012	XII. 3048

## NUMBERS AND PLATES

2999	I	3014	VII
3000	II	3016	VIII
3001	III	3017	IX
3004	I	3020	X
3005	II	3030	IX
3006	IV	3034	XI
3007	V	3035	X
3008	VI	3048	XII
3009	VI	3051	XI
3010	I	3055	VII
3011	V	3070	VIII
3012	VI	3076	XI
3013	III		

## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

THE method of publication follows that adopted in Part XXXVI. As there, the dots indicating letters unread and, within square brackets, the estimated number of lost letters are printed slightly below the line. In the new literary texts, corrections and annotations which appear to be in a different hand from that of the original scribe are printed in thick type. Non-literary texts are printed in modern form, with accents and punctuation, the lectional signs occurring in the papyri being noted in the *apparatus criticus*, where also faults of orthography, etc., are corrected. Iota adscript is printed where written, otherwise iota subscript is used. Square brackets [ ] indicate a lacuna, round brackets ( ) the resolution of a symbol or abbreviation, angular brackets < > a mistaken omission in the original, braces { } a superfluous letter or letters, double square brackets [ ] a deletion, the signs ` ` an insertion above the line. Dots within brackets represent the estimated number of letters lost or deleted, dots outside brackets mutilated or otherwise illegible letters. Dots under letters indicate that the reading is doubtful. In the new literary texts letters not read or marked as doubtful in the literal transcript may be read or appear without the dot marking doubt in the reconstruction if the context justifies this. Lastly, heavy Arabic numerals refer to Oxyrhynchus papyri printed in this and preceding volumes, ordinary numerals to lines, small Roman numerals to columns.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: an Introduction* (1968). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## NOTE ON INVENTORY NUMBERS

The inventory numbers in general follow a set pattern, of the form 20 3B.37/D (3)a. Here '20' is the number of the present cardboard box; '3B' refers to Grenfell and Hunt's third campaign at Oxyrhynchus; '37' is the series number given inside that year to the metal packing box; 'D' indicates a layer of papyri inside that box. A few inventory numbers have the form A. B.32/A(6); these refer to the separate series of Ashmolean boxes.

## NOTE ON THE TERMS 'RECTO' AND 'VERSO', 'FRONT' AND 'BACK' AND THE USE OF ARROWS (→, ↓)

THE terms 'recto' and 'verso' are strictly applicable to papyrus only in those cases (which are in a minority) where a recognizable part of a roll is preserved. If there is doubt whether a roll can be recognized, the terms used here are 'front' and 'back', in conjunction with arrows placed beside the first line of the text to indicate the direction of the fibres in relation to the writing. A horizontal arrow (→) means that the fibres run in the same direction as the lines of writing; a vertical arrow (↓) means that the fibres run at right angles to the lines of writing.

To avoid confusion it must be stressed that an arrow of this sort refers always to the relationship of the writing to the surface on which it stands, that is, the vertical arrow is not used simply to indicate the back of a papyrus which has on the front a text running parallel with the fibres. It means that the writing of the text on the side in question runs at right angles to the fibres. The addresses of letters and other endorsements are often written parallel with the fibres on the back, while the main text is written parallel with the fibres on the front. It will be readily understood that because of the method of manufacture of papyrus sheets this means that the endorsement runs at right angles to the text on the front. However, since an arrow refers only to a single surface, such an endorsement will be preceded by the note 'Back →'.

These signs can be applied to codices, since in them the writing is normally only horizontal across the page. The arrow in horizontal position → will therefore indicate a page of a codex in which the fibres run in the same direction as the writing, horizontally; an arrow in a vertical position will mean that the writing, if horizontal, crosses the fibres, which are by inference vertical. It is necessary to set this point out explicitly since the basis of use of the signs → ↓ is not that laid down in P. Antinoopolis III p. xii; and a theoretical defect of the new basis is that it cannot be used to describe a page of a codex which bears no writing.

When the terms 'recto' and 'verso' are applied to parchment codices, it is proposed to retain the time-honoured meanings 'recto' = a right-hand page, 'verso' = a left-hand page.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO PAPYRI  
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P. Ant. II 88. 3. For τοῦ Κοπτείου κα[ὶ τῆ]ς μητρὸς read τοῦ Κουσείου κά[τω. τῆ]ς μητρὸς κτλ. (See J. Bingen, *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* 231-4.)

P. Ant. II 99. 14. For ], πρότερον read ]γροτερον, e.g. πο]γροότερον. (E. G. Turner.)

I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

2999. HESIOD, 'Hoiai OR Μεγάλαι 'Hoiai

A. 16 6E

2.2 × 11.6 cm.

Plate I  
Second/third century

A narrow strip, with the first few letters of twelve consecutive lines. The hand is a small and neatly executed example of the Severe Style. On the back, traces of cursive.

Line 12, if the articulation ἦ' οἴη(ς) is accepted, points clearly to the Hesiodic 'Hoiai or Μεγάλαι 'Hoiai; and the general content confirms this attribution.

3-11 belong together; the beginning of the section is marked by a forked paragraphus. The matter parallels fr. 251 MW: sons of Butes (8) marry daughters of Hyllus (10) in the house of Ceyx (3? 5?).

12 should begin a new section. But it is followed (not preceded) by a forked paragraphus, and by a blank space of c. 5.5 cm. before the foot (which may or may not be the original lower edge). The space would be large for a normal margin. The most obvious explanation is, that we have the end of a roll and that 12 is a *reclamans*. Against this it must be said that *reclamantes* are normally marked off; and in any case there is no certain instance later than the first century A.D. (See S. West, *Scriptorium* 17 (1963) 314 f.) But there is a parallel in the Xenophon, 698: this too is later (third century) and here too the coronis follows the linking words. The scribes of both the Hesiod and the Xenophon may have misunderstood an antique exemplar.

Otherwise we should have to assume that the paragraphus under line 12 is misplaced; or that the single line constitutes a self-contained episode.

The fragment has some structural interest. The paragraphus below line 2 should begin a new section; but no part of ἦ' οἴη can be read in line 3; therefore it begins a new sub-section, as e.g. fr. 25. 34, not a completely new family. But to what genealogy does it belong? Fr. 251, from the Μεγάλαι 'Hoiai, narrates the same marriage in an account of the family of Hyllus. If the same subject was treated in 2999, it will have been from some other angle: the Butidae, perhaps, or Ceyx.

If our fragment is the end of a roll, and line 12 was a *reclamans*, we could infer that line 11 ended a book. It is tempting to identify 12 with fr. 73. 1, which is restored *exempli gratia* as ἦ' οἴη Χωνῆος ἀγακλε]ιτοῖο ἀνακτος; and in that case the new book began with the episode of Atalanta. Dr. M. L. West, to whom I am much indebted, remarks that fr. 73. 1 is the first line of a column, as one might expect the first line of a book to be; and suggests that the division is between books I (ending with 2999 11) and II (beginning with Atalanta). But of course the identification and explanation of line 12 is by no means certain.

The hand is not, so far as I can tell, the same as in any of the manuscripts published in POxy. xxviii.

C 8788

B

elder, Procne, in marriage with Tereus the king of the Thracians, who had by her a son whom he named Itys. As time passed, and Procne wished to see her sister, she asked Tereus to travel to Athens to bring (her back). He, after reaching Athens and receiving the girl from Pandion and making half the return journey, fell in love with the girl. And he disregarded his trust and violated her. But, as a precaution in case she should tell her sister, he cut out the girl's tongue. On arriving in Thrace, and Philomela being unable to speak her misfortune, she revealed it by means of a piece of weaving. When Procne realized the truth, driven mad by jealousy . . . she took Itys and killed him and after cooking him served him up to Tereus. He ate the meal without realizing. The women took to flight and became, one of them a nightingale, one a swallow, and Tereus a hoopoe.'

1 [ή υ]πρόθεαι: the two traces before θ look like the foot of an upright, followed by a short upright (unless this is ink which has run on a prominent fibre). I have taken them to belong to a π (right foot) and to a straight-sided ο, but it is not (palaeographically) a reading which leaps to the eye. The space will not allow [οδ ή υ]πρόθεαι or [ή δε υ]πρόθεαι.

3 Πρόκ(ν)ην: so in 5 but not in 9. Perhaps a phonetic error, though I can find no parallel closer than δραχ(μ)ή, which occurs sporadically in documents (Dr. Gignac refers to BGU 1602 B 11, PRossGeorg. II 19, 54, PTeht. 397, 32, Wilcken, Ostr. 674. 3).

4 πρεσβυτερωτέραν: paralleled only in the document M. Chr. 57. 15. Double comparatives of course occur early, and become frequent later; but the double -τερος is not expected (Mayser i 2. 61 f., Schwyzer i 535. 8). Perhaps then (as Rea suggests) a simple error: πρεσβυ(τερω)τέραν.

13 Perhaps επ[ιτρε]φθείς. (ἐχ[χειρι]ςθείς would suit the sense equally, and fill the lacuna, for which [ιτρε] is a little short. But the trace before θ fits the flat-based loop of φ better than the lower curl of c.)

18 ff. The lines of the second column have lost about half their length. The very probable restorations in 21, 24, 31, and 32 give line-lengths of 23, 24, 21, and 19 letters.

23 δι' ύφο[υ]ς is certain, not ύφης or ύφάματος. The account must have been brief and unexplicit, in the space available: contrast Apollodorus 3. 14. 8 ύφήνασα εν πέπλω γράμματα; Conon, Narr. (FGH 26 F 1) 31 πέπλον ύφάινουσα γράφει τὰ πάθη τοῖς νήμασι.

27 νην. ερεινοίς: of the damaged letter there remains the right-hand half: an angle best suited to ο or perhaps to δ (though this is normally wider and flatter). Under the corruption there should be a reference to the Erinyes: cf. remotely Ach. Tat. 5. 5. 6-8 δύο γυναῖκες εἰς ἐν πνέουσαι καὶ ὕβρει κεράσαι τὴν ἑηλοτυπίαν δειπνον ἐπινοοῦσι τῶν γάμων ἀτυχέστερον . . . ἐδείπνησεν ὁ Τηρεὺς δειπνον Ἐρινύων. If the readings are right, emendation is required: (a) καὶ [γενομέ]νη ὑπερινός (but the adjective is not attested); (b) καὶ [μειμανημέ]νη ὑ(π)δ' Ἐρινύ(ο)ς (Rea).

Alternatively, we might try to read νη ή δ' Ἐρεινοίς (for -ός): ' . . . she, like a Fury, . . . '. This runs into two difficulties: (a) ν. ερεινοίς looks a better reading than η. ερεινοίς (there is no sign of the left upright of η); (b) the sentence in 24-6 is left without a main verb.

33 The end, apparently, though the break in the papyrus might conceal further writing in the same line.

## II. OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

### 3014. GNOMON OF THE IDIOS LOGOS §§ 35-41

20 3B.30/F (1-3) b

12.5 × 22 cm.

Plate VII  
First century

The *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* has been known so far only from the complete copy published as BGU V. The new text comprises a single column to full height, damaged at the left and in places much rubbed. One initial trace remains from a second column. The back is blank.

The hand is a rapid professional cursive, comparable e.g. with Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 28 (A.D. 31) and 30 (A.D. 40/1), *PGB* 15b (A.D. 39) and 16a (A.D. 42). Short blanks are used as punctuation in lines 3, 12, and 13; blank line-spaces separate the sections (one of them, between 4 and 5, shows the end of an extended paragraphus).

The text in BGU was compiled, if not copied, under Antoninus Pius. 3014, to judge from the hand, belongs as much as a century earlier. It avoids some minor errors: 12 οἱ μὲν (δ μὲν BGU), 17 τῶ ἡττονι (ηγτονι BGU); at 13 it has the expected ἡμίσει, against ἡμ[ιαι]ά which Schubart read reluctantly on palaeographic grounds. But there are more substantive variations:

3 f. the property of soldiers who die intestate and without heirs *eiusdem generis* goes to the camp: 3014 is now the earliest evidence for this rule; BGU omits the clause.

9 f. those who go into self-imposed exile are allowed one-twelfth of their property. BGU attributes this concession to Antoninus Pius, 3014 to some earlier (but illegible) authority. Both copies have *αὐτοῖς* masculine (against Naber's misguided *αὐταῖς*, see *Museum*, 1920, p. 221).

17 the spacing in 3014 excludes the garbled text of BGU. I suspect that *Αἰγυπτιοῖς* alone stood here, and that ἡ ἀστοῖς is a marginal addition (deriving from a later change of law?) which BGU misplaced.

By and large, however, the text shows remarkable stability. We cannot tell whether the numeration of sections was the same. Only one number survives, that is  $\bar{\mu}$  for the first section of column two. This is  $\bar{\mu}\beta$  in BGU: so there can have been no very large variation.

- τοὺς στρατευομένους κ[αί] ἀδιαθέτους τελευτῶντας § 35 [ μ[  
 ἐξὸν τέκνοις καὶ συγγενέσι κληρονομεῖν ὅταν τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ γένους ὦσιν οἱ μετερχόμενοι· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ  
 c. 10 ]...η παρεμβολή (vac.) [ ]  
 5 τῶν ἐπὶ φόνοις ἢ μείζουσιν ἀμαρτήματιν κολαζο- § 36 [ ]  
 μένων ἢ καὶ διὰ ὁμοίας αἰτίας ἀθαιρέτον φυγὴν ἐ-  
 λομένων τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἀναλαμβάνεται δίδοται . .  
 c. 12 ]...των καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐν ἀργυρίοις . . [ ]  
 c. 14 ]... αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ δωδέκατον ὑπὸ [ ]  
 10 c. 12 ]ου[...]. . . . ου συνεχωρήθη (vac.) [ ]  
 οἱ παρὰ προστ[άγματα βασιλέων ἢ ἐπάρχων τι προ[άξαν- § 37 [ ]  
 τες ἀκαταλλήλως] ἐζημιώθησαν οἱ μὲν τετάρτῳ μέρει  
 τῆς οὐσίας οἱ δὲ ἡμίσει ἄλλοι δὲ ἐξ ὅλων (vac.) [ ]  
 οἱ ἐξ ἀστῆς καὶ Αἰγυπτ[έ]ου γενόμενοι μένουσι μὲν § 38 [ ]  
 15 Αἰγύπτιοι ἀμφοτέρου]ς δὲ κληρονομοῦσι τοῦ]ς γονεῖς  
 Ῥωμαίου ἢ Ῥωμ[αίας κατ' ἀγνοίαν συνελθόντων § 39 [ ]  
 c. 14 τ]ὰ τέκνα τῶ] ἡγγοῦν γένει ἀ[κολουθεῖ  
 τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰ]σαγ[ό]ντων οὐκ μὴ δεῖ εἰς τῆ]ν Ἀλεξανδρέ- § 40 [ ]  
 ων πολιτεία]ν [νῦν] ἡγεμον[ικ]ῆς γέ]γονεν διαγνώσεως  
 20 ἐὰν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ κοπ]ρίας ἀρ[έ]ληται § 41 [ ]  
 9 ὑπο (= ὑπο)

1-3 This article is usually thought to derive from a letter of Hadrian of A.D. 119 (M. Chr. 373). This letter allows soldiers' children, born during the period of service, to claim ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τοῦ διατάγματος, οὐ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς γένους συγγενέσι δίδοται. The new copy of the *Gnomon* is most probably earlier than Hadrian. Either then line 2 must be supplemented somehow else; or the inference is false. But in any case the provisions of the *Gnomon* and of the Letter are not coextensive. Children might have been born to soldiers before they entered the army; and these were presumably legitimate. Children born during the period of service were illegitimate, because their fathers were legally debarred from marriage. Hadrian is concerned only with the illegitimate; the innovation is to allow them rights under the clause *unde cognati*. The *Gnomon* is formulated more generally, and perhaps refers to legitimate offspring.

3-4 In BGU article 35 finishes at οἱ μετερχόμενοι. The new clause should refer to cases in which

there are no heirs *eiusdem generis*. At the end *εμβολή* is clear, *παραμβολή* possible. The point must be that the dead man's property goes to the camp as a whole. This arrangement is implied in a letter of Hadrian (*Dig.* 28. 3. 6. 7) about succession in cases of suicide: 'divus Hadrianus dedit epistula ad Pomponium Falconem ut, si quidem ob conscientiam delicti militaris mori maluit, irritum sit eius testamentum; quod si taedio vitae vel dolore, valere testamentum, aut si intestato decessit cognatis aut, si non sint, legioni ista sint vindicanda.' (Cf. Ulpian, *Dig.* 40. 5. 4. 17.) A full statement in a constitution of A.D. 347, *Cod. Theod.* 5. 6. 1 = *Cod. Just.* 6. 62. 2: '... cum aliquis fuerit rebus humanis exemptus atque intestatus sine legitimo herede decesserit, ad vexillationem in qua militaverit res eiusdem necessario pervenire.'

]...η παρεμβολή: perhaps e.g. δίδοται τῇ παρεμβολῇ (for the verb cf. *Gnomon* line 66); the only doubt is the tau of τῇ, where one would expect the vertical to be visible. The traces allow ]ατ but not ]ει. But of course it may have been a nominative, ]... ἡ παρεμβολή.

7 ff. BGU reads: δίδοται δὲ τέκνοις αὐτῶν τὸ ἰ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἱ ἐν ἀργυρίῳ προίκες, καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ ἰβ Ἀντωνίου]ς Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος συνεχώρησεν. 3014 differed slightly in several places:

7-9 Following BGU we might reconstruct: δίδοται δὲ | τὸ ἰ τοῖς τέκνοις] αὐτῶν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν <αἱ> ἐν ἀργυρίοις προί]κεσ. This satisfies the traces. But (1) the supplement at the beginning of 8 is long, even given the elasticity of cursive hands; (2) the fraction is written in line 9 as word, not numeral; (3) line 9 needs an extra word, if προί]κεσ . . . . . κα]ἰ αὐτοῖς δὲ is right. (1) and (2) could be eliminated by assuming an omission: ] αὐτῶν <τὸ δέκατον>. I see no way of dealing with (3).

9-10 There is nothing against κα]ἰ αὐτοῖς δὲ; for the rest, the clause will have been the same in outline as in BGU, but couched in the passive. The concession is attributed to someone, whose name in the genitive should follow ὑπὸ at the beginning of line 10. If the someone was an emperor, the wording should follow one of two basic patterns: τοῦ θεοῦ X; or X καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου.

The traces are substantial. After ]ου parts of horizontal and upright (π, τ, υ ?); then a small space which may or may not have contained a whole letter; then the foot of an upright; then another small space; then part of a loop (ο, ρ, α ?); then horizontal and upright as of τ or ligatured ι; then foot of upright with another point high up above it; then a point of ink at line height: e.g. ]...ου or ]...ου, even perhaps ]...ου. κυρίου seems to be excluded; and I can fit no imperial name (it would have in any case to be a long one).

Legal sources (Mommson, *Strafrecht* 1010 f.) do not help. They give the purpose of the concession as *viaticum*; but again I cannot identify ἐνοδίου (or ἐφ-) or ὀδοπορικῶν or οὐσιαστικῶν here.

16 BGU has ἂθ Ῥωμαίου ἢ Ῥωμ[αίας κατ' ἀγνοίαν συνελθόντων ἢ ἀστοῖς Αἰγυπτίους τὰ τέκνα ἡγγοῦν γένει ἀκολουθεῖ. In this ἀστοῖς Αἰγυπτίους is clearly garbled, and ἡγγοῦν for τῶ ἡγγοῦν is simple error. Line 17 may have had the correct version of the first phrase as it does of the second; the whole phrase would certainly be long for the space, but Αἰγυπτίους by itself would fit neatly; BGU will have incorporated and misplaced a marginal note.

## 3015. EXTRACTS FROM COURT RECORDS

35 4B.101/K (5)

22·2 × 21 cm.

Early 2nd century

This sheet, which contains items of case-law about testamentary disposition, has been folded nine times across the writing, and then in half along its width; these folds explain the repeated damage-pattern in lines 14-16. The copy was made after the death of Trajan (6, 13), but not much after, to judge from the hand. The back is blank.

Three decisions are cited. Of the first (1-5) only the end remains. The second and third are complete: one (6-12) dates from 8 May 109; the other (13-27) from an unknown year of Trajan; in both the judge is the prefect Sulpicius Similis; both begin with the 'extract formula' (8, 14), and mention consultation with the consilium and a legal assessor. All three decisions, then, are probably extracted from the prefect's



other matter. Sulpicius Similis, after talking with his advisers and referring the case to Artemidorus the lawyer, said: "... neither the wife, over whom the father of the bridegroom made a more recent agreement, nor her sons, are alive, on which parties the (property) in the agreement could be entailed—this document is now void. The law, I am told, gives to a man who has negotiated a 'general sale', even though he has entailed his property on his children, the power to choose out one of them and make this one his heir. It is therefore (not?) the case that, with the disappearance of the second bond, the right reverts to the first one. It was open to him to make his will on whatever terms he wished, (provided that?) he left as heirs those children of his in whose name he made the 'general sale'."

1-2 The validity of a will has been challenged. The prefect dismisses the claim, on the ground that under the 'Egyptian laws' the testator had a perfect right to change his dispositions.

What is in question, then, is the right *μεταδιατίθεσθαι*. This is a right which Greek wills often reserve (e.g. PStrass. 284. 4, BGU 1654. 6, PWisc. 13. 3); BGU 895 documents the disposal of the estate of a *μεταδιατιθεμένη*. The plaintiff obviously could not claim that the procedure was illegal in all circumstances. There must have been something special about the earlier will: perhaps a *κατοχή*.

2 Perhaps  $\eta$   $\nu$   $\rho$   $\mu$   $\omicron$   $\nu$   $\kappa$   $\xi$   $\chi$   $\omicron$   $\nu$   $\epsilon$   $\iota$ . (Of  $\eta$  only the diagonal, and a spot of ink suitable for the second vertical; of the first  $\omicron$  a left-hand arc. After  $\nu$   $\rho$   $\mu$   $\omicron$  a short space, apparently blank. Of  $\nu$  in  $\omicron$   $\nu$   $\kappa$ , only the top left curl. Then  $\chi$   $\omicron$   $\nu$   $\epsilon$   $\iota$  rather than  $\lambda$   $\omicron$   $\nu$   $\epsilon$   $\iota$ .) If this is right, I suppose the general sense is: 'To those who have no claim to be judged by (Roman? Greek?) law, we do best to return judgements by Egyptian law'; write *νόμον* rather than e.g. *κληρονόμον*. But I cannot make a smooth sentence. Is  $\xi$   $\chi$   $\omicron$   $\nu$   $\epsilon$   $\iota$  verb or participle? Is  $\alpha$   $\nu$   $\tau$   $\omicron$   $\delta$   $\epsilon$  subject of *δικαιοδοτείν*? or object? (but then a dative might be expected).

9 f. *Ἀρτεμιδώρου*: on the *νομικοί* see Taubenschlag, *Op. Min.* ii 161 f.; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft u. soziale Stellung*<sup>2</sup> 269 f. This Artemidorus might be identified with Clau. Artemidorus, who appears in the same capacity in a similar case of A.D. 124 (*M. Chr.* 84): see 11 f. note.

11 f. The same general principle is cited in *M. Chr.* 84. 16 f. (with which cf. 2757 ii). There Blaesus Marianus, by delegation from the prefect Haterius Nepos, hears a case about inheritance: Aphrodisius had entered into an *ἀγραφος γάμος* with Sarapous; one of their sons, Horigenes, had died, bequeathing his estate to one of his brothers and to his cousin Ammonius; Ammonius now claims that the bequest was valid, because Egyptians may leave their property to whomever they like; Aphrodisius argues against him that the son of an unwritten marriage has no right to make a will in his father's lifetime. Marianus, after consulting with Clau. Artemidorus, rejected Ammonius' claim.

Why does Marianus reject the general principle? Arangio-Ruiz suggested that Marianus gave Roman practice the preference over native law: but there are arguments against this view (H. J. Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages* 60 ff.), especially if it is the same Artemidorus who gives expert advice in both *M. Chr.* 84 and 3015. More probably, the principle *καθὼς βούλεται διαθέσθαι* was an established one; but the particular case of a son of an unwritten marriage, making a will in his father's lifetime, does not fall under its provisions. Note the implication (*M. Chr.* 84. 28 f.) that the son of a written marriage would be in a different position.

16 ff. I am not clear about the outline of this complicated case; and the ambiguity of *οικουν* in 23 adds to the obscurity. The persons involved are: the father (F), his son who marries (S), a wife (W), sons of W. It seems likely that W is the wife of S (rather than F); and that the other children (22, 26) are children of F. The point at issue must be the will of F. The difficulty lies in deciding how many separate documents are referred to. Very tentatively I suggest three stages:

(1) *πανπράσιον*: F, when he married, 'sold' his property to his wife (21 note) and entailed it on their children. This agreement is called *προτέρα* (*ἀεφάλεια*) in 24 f.

(2) F's son S marries W; F makes some agreement in favour of W and her children. This agreement is referred to by *καινότερόν τι* (17: 'later' than stage 1?), *συμφωνία* (19), *γράμμα* (20), *δευτέρα ἀεφάλεια* (24). W and her sons die (18), so that the agreement lapses (24).

(3) F makes a will, in which he names one of his children sole heir (23). This heir must be the defendant of the suit, i.e. the Did[ ] of 14.

Two points are therefore central to the decision: that the beneficiaries of (2) are dead, and the agreement accordingly irrelevant; and that the existence of (1) is no bar to (3).

Further questions could be asked about the real situation: how much of the property was involved at each stage? and how far do the stages overlap temporally? Prof. Pestman suggests that (1) concerned the whole estate; (2) concedes part of the estate to W and her children; (3) appointed a sole heir to the rest, at a time when (2) was still valid (this explains why (2) comes into the case at all). Later W and her sons died, and F died, so that the whole property is now in play.

Any reconstruction has to explain two sections of the argument in which the wording is ambiguous: 23 ff. *οικουν* might be positive or negative. If negative, the line is: 'The "sale" does not exclude the appointment of a single heir; therefore it is not the case that the lapsing of the second agreement revalidates the first (because the third—the will—is in fact valid).' If *οικουν* is positive, and the basic situation has been correctly described, we shall have to transpose stages (2) and (3). Argument: 'The "sale" does not exclude the appointment of a single heir; therefore it is the case that the lapsing of the second agreement (in favour of W and her children) revives the former (agreement under which Did[ ] was made sole heir).'

26 *καταλιπόντι* might represent more than one mood. Does it mean 'although he had (originally) left (all) the children as heirs . . .?' Or 'provided that his heirs (or in this case, single heir) are those (or among those) in favour of whom the "sale" was originally made'? Both elliptical.

16 f. Unless *ἀκυρόν ἐστιν ἥδη* (20) stands in asyndeton, we need a subordinating conjunction; in fact *ἐπ*  $\xi$  fits well in 17 (before *οὔτε* a single upright, and before that indeterminate spots of ink).

$\lambda$   $\xi$   $\gamma$   $\epsilon$   $\tau$   $\alpha$   $\iota$  begins the sentence; there is no space for  $\omega$   $\epsilon$  before it. In what follows,  $\cdot$   $\lceil$  is the left tip of a high horizontal ( $\pi$   $\tau$   $\tau$ );  $\cdot$   $\lceil$  is probably  $\theta$  or  $\tau$ ;  $\cdot$   $\lceil$  perhaps  $\epsilon$ , assuming that the trace below is the beginning of 17  $\eta$   $\lceil$ .

21 *πανπράσιον*: here and in 27; otherwise only in an unpublished petition to Petronius Mamerinus, prefect A.D. 133/7 (35 4B.64/D (1) a). In the petition the situation is much the same as here. The petitioner's father married according to *τὰς νομίμας παρ' Αἰγυπτίους* [*ε*] *συγγραφάς*, and made a *κατοχή* of the property of both parents (a special share for the eldest son, other shares for the brothers); here too the word *πανπράσιον* occurs (damaged context) in connection with *κατέχειν*; and here too the difficulty arises from a will made later by the father. No Greek source throws any light on the meaning of *πανπράσιον*. But it is likely to be an Egyptian institution. I am inclined therefore to explain the word from the Demotic contracts described by Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property* 37 ff. (the Greek subscriptions call them *ανάλλαγμα* or *συγγραφή προφίτις*). In these contracts, which are often drawn up some time after the actual marriage, the husband acknowledges to the wife that he has sold her his entire property, in return for the token payment (*σ'  $\eta$* ) which the wife had made him; sometimes he adds a clause of settlement: 'To you (on behalf of) the children, whom you have borne me and which you will (still) bear to me . . . (the whole property) belongs.' These two elements correspond to *πανπράσιον* and *κατοχή*.

Pestman 41 regards *πρόπρασις* as the Greek name for this procedure: see PMich. 347 (A.D. 21) and PMich. 121 R II ii etc. (A.D. 42). He has suggested to me by letter that *πανπράσιον* and *πρόπρασις* in fact describe the same practice from different points of view: it is a sale of the whole property (*παν-*) but also (since the seller retains the right to dispose of it by testament) a provisional sale (*προ-*).

22 f. 'The husband is quite free to appoint his heirs, within certain limits, provided that at least one of the children, for instance the eldest son, is appointed heir. . . . The stipulation pertaining to the law of succession is, therefore, inserted in our deeds to indicate who will be the heir of those who are heirs-at-law; when no heir is appointed, those who are heirs-at-law, all the children, inherit the property on that account' (Pestman 128). Cf. the negative form 2757 ii?

24 *παρὰπεσούσης*: the normal meaning would be 'having been mislaid', cf. the examples collected by Youtie, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 171; in three of them the document is explicitly said to be invalid for this reason. But I don't see that this can be relevant here. The sense ought to be 'lapse', 'become inapplicable'.



## 3016. JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS

Plate VIII  
28 May 148

No inventory number

14.5 × 19.3 cm.

This document is an extract from the prefectoral day-book, copied in a heavy round hand of literary pretensions; the copy is not likely to be much later than the events recorded. The back is blank.

The extract concerns proceedings of 28 May 148; presumably in the prefect's court. All that survives belongs to a single clause in the genitive absolute: 'when decisions of the *xenokritai* (who are listed) had been read out (and the decisions are quoted verbatim in Latin), . . .'. The apodosis will have begun in line 22.

The *xenokritai* are the point of interest. The evidence available does not allow a certain conclusion about their functions; but it seems worth collecting the material and venturing a suggestion. I am grateful to the legal seminar which discussed the document in London (notably Prof. J. A. C. Thomas and Prof. Peter Stein) for putting the difficulties in a clearer light.

The *xenokritai* in this document number fifteen; they are Roman citizens; they return a decision in Latin. It is obviously likely, though not to be proved, that they functioned in Egypt. The case apparently concerned a freedwoman: 13 ] *mulier de qua agitur* . [ 15 ] . . . *libertina* αε. . [ 18 ] . . . *seru* [ (clearly reading and articulation are doubtful in 15 and 18, but the three passages may be thought to buttress one another). The dispute may have been about her *status libertatis* or about her ownership.

The noun was known otherwise only from two inscriptions: BSA 26. 163 (Sparta, Trajan/Hadrian) Eudocimus ξενοκρίτης εἰς Ἀλάβαντα; IGR iii 681 = TAM ii 508 (Pinara, ? i b.c.) τὴν τοῦ σε]μνοτάτου δικαιοδότη καὶ τὴν τῶν ξενοκριτῶν δ[ιαλά]χεω. In both, as in Cicero's reference to *peregrini iudices* in Cilicia (*ad Att.* 6. 1. 15), interpretation has differed between 'judges for aliens' and 'alien judges' (i.e. judges brought in from outside, *μετάπεμπτα δικαστήρια*). See Magie, *RRAM* ii 1383. The second interpretation fits the Spartan who went to Alabanda in this capacity; in the two other sources the context gives no foothold.

A new piece of evidence accrued quite recently. In *Eretz Israel* 8 (1967) 46 ff. Prof. Polotsky publishes three pieces from the archive of Babatha.<sup>1</sup> This archive, recovered at En Gedi by the Dead Sea, dates from the years A.D. 125–32; its owner, Babatha daughter of Simon, lived at Maoza near Zoar, south of the Dead Sea, in the new province of Arabia; she was presumably a Jewess, and certainly not a Roman citizen. Babatha's son was a minor; the *boule* of Petra provided him with a guardian (PEng. 27). In the same context belong duplicate copies of a Greek formulary (PEng. 28–9), which virtually translates the Roman formula for the *iudicium tutelae* (Lenel, *Edictum* para. 124).

What is odd about the formula is, that where the Roman text would be sup-

<sup>1</sup> The documents are reprinted as SB X 10288; and discussed by M. Lemosse, *The Irish Jurist* 3 (1968) 363. For the archive in general, see Y. Yadin, *Bar Kokhba* 222.

posed to have *iudex esto*, the Greek has ξενοκρίται ἔτωσαν. Prof. Polotsky rendered the word by *peregrini iudices*. Prof. Seidl has approved the rendering (*SDHI* 33 (1967) 550 f.; *Studi in onore di G. Grosso* ii 345 ff.), in the sense 'judges for aliens'; he compares the Greek κριταί who are to deal with cases among Greeks in the fourth Cyrene Edict (Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* 311).

Neither this meaning, 'judge for aliens', nor the other, 'imported judge', seems likely to fit 3016, in which the judges are Roman citizens and return a verdict in Latin. But if they are a Roman institution, and concerned with a case of this kind, it would be tempting to think of them as *recuperatores*. There is some evidence to support this equivalence.

So far as I can discover, no regular Greek translation of *recuperator* is known. Seidl thought he had found one in PFamTebt. 24. 2 ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνακτήσεως [τῶν ἀλλοτ]ριουμένων [ (*Labeo*, 1965, pp. 37 ff.); this certainly answers the basic sense of the Latin. On the other hand, *CGL* iii 336. 44 f. has κριτήριον ξένον *iudicium peregrinum* and κριτήριον ξένον *recuperatorium*. ξενοκρίτης would then render not the Latin word, but the origin of the Roman institution as described by Aelius Gallus (i b.c.): 'reciperatio est, . . . cum inter populum et reges nationesque et civitates peregrinas lex convenit, quomodo per reciperatores reddantur res reciperenturque, resque privatas inter se persequantur' (Festus p. 342 L).

*Recuperatores* certainly occupied themselves with cases of *status*. Thus Claudius' oration BGU 611. 3 f. fixes their minimum age at 24, since they have to judge [*causas*] *servitutis libertatisque*. See B. Schmidlin, *Rekuperatorenverfahren* 86 ff. (The evidence, as might be expected, is confined to Italy and to the first century A.D.) Nothing is said about their numbers. But we might compare the provision of the *Lex Aelia Sentia* (Gaius i 20) for the manumission of slaves under thirty: they do not become citizens unless manumitted *vindicta* after proof of adequate motive before a *consilium* which, in the provinces, is to consist of twenty citizen *recuperatores* and to be convened on the last day of the *conventus*.<sup>1</sup>

The discussion is necessarily inconclusive, because the details of the actual case are not available. It is at least clear that these ξενοκρίται must be different from those of the Greek inscriptions. If they are *recuperatores*, we have interesting evidence for the survival of older Roman judicial forms in Egypt; and reason perhaps to reconsider the En Gedi formulary, which otherwise preserves strict Roman form, even though its users were not citizens.

The lower part of the papyrus, with the Latin text, is badly rubbed and stained. The readings offered for the Latin are for the most part very doubtful.

<sup>1</sup> We have no mention of this *consilium* in Egypt, unless our text provides one. Contrast *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* §§ 19 and 21.

→ (m.2) ὑπομνημ(ατισμῶν) ἡγεμόνος  
 ἔτους ἰα Ἀντωνεῖνου καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 Παῦνι γ̄  
 ἀναγνωσθεῖσων ἀποφάσεων ξενοκρι-  
 5 τῶν Φλ(αυίου) Πίου, Ἰουλίου Μινερουάλις,  
 Μετειλίου Διδύμου, Βαβιδίου Ρούφου,  
 Κλαυδίου Γεμίνου, Κασσίου Λιβεράλις, Ἐκου-  
 τίου Κλαυδιανοῦ, Ἰουλίου Πρόκλου,  
 Ἰουλίου ὤρατου, Κα[. . .] Ἀπολλινάριου,  
 10 Ἀλφείου Λόνγου, Φλ(αυίου) Δ[ιο]νυσίου, Ο[. . .] ε  
 . . . . . Ἀπολλινάρις, Ἰουλίου Μαξίμου,  
 . . . . .] λίου Ἀμμωνίου τῶν ὑποτε[  
 . . . . .] μη]ιερ̄ de qua agitur .[  
 . . . . .] us̄a .oetisaduē[  
 15 . . . . .] libe]tināaē . . . . .[  
 . . . . .] .lqn .n .[  
 . . . . .] nonuidet[  
 . . . . .] . . . . .] seru[  
 . . . . .] . . . . .] us̄ex̄aço .[  
 20 . . . . .] e . . . . .] s̄s̄e[  
 . . . . .] s̄a . . . . .] f .uid[  
 . . . . .] . Ἀπολλ[ι

1 ὑπομνημ 5 φλ· 7 κλ· 10 φλ·

(2nd hd.) From the *commentarii* of the prefect. (1st hd.)

Year 11 of Antoninus Caesar the lord, Pauni 3.

After the reading out of the decisions of the *xenokritai* Fl. Pius, Julius Minervalis, Metilius Didymus, Babidius Rufus, Cl. Geminus, Cassius Liberalis, Equitius Claudianus, Julius Proclus, Julius oratus, . . . . Apollinaris, Alfius Longus, Fl. Dionysius, . . . . Apollinaris, Julius Maximus, . . . . Ammonius, as follows . . . . " . . . the woman who is the object of the case . . . " . . .

6 Μετειλίου: for the Metilii, see Syme, *JRS*, 1968, p. 138.

Βαβιδίου: Schulze, *Z. Gesch. Lat. Eigennamen* 132 n. 4.

7 f. Ἐκουτίου: Schulze, *ib.* 355; *nomen* of the emperor Probus, according to Aur. Victor *Ep.* 36. 2; Fl. Equitius was *cos. ord.* in 374.

9 ὤρατου: the trace (assuming the first part of the ink to be the tip of the preceding *v*) looks most like the junction of two obliques i.e. δ λ μ (less likely ν); but lacks the characteristic left-pointing apex. I find none of these attested as names.

Κα[. . .]: presumably an abbreviation of Cassius.

10 Ἀλφείου: cf. M. Alfius Coma, ex-signifer, BGU 610 (CPL 115) of A.D. 140.

10 f. Ο[. . .] ε[. . .]: not Οὐαλε[ρίου]. ονελε might just be read, with the first ε much cramped, whether

as a mis-spelling, or as part of Velenius or Velesius; or better Οὐμε[ρίου], Umerius (see Schulze for these names).

11 Ἰουλίου Μαξίμου: it is obviously likely that some at least of the judges are veterans; this man might be identified with the soldier who appears in BGU 610 (CPL 115) of A.D. 140. But the name is not distinctive.

12 λίου: Αἰ]λίου looks too long. ]αίου is not a possible reading.

υποτε[. . .]: the papyrus is broken after the ε. This was probably the line-end; but one cannot be sure that υποτε[τα] was not written.

13 Assuming that the scribe wrote υποτε[ταγμένων, there will be room for some two letters before *mulier* (*si, an*), or for a short blank; if υποτε[ταγγμένων, some four letters (e.g. *quod*) or their equivalent. *mulier*: *u* is quite substantial; of *l* only a point of ink from the horizontal; of *i* only a point from the top.

*de qua agitur*: for the phrase in verdicts, cf. *FIRA* iii 86. 9-10 'necessariam fuisse inspectionem aedificiorum et loci, de quibus apud me actum est' (decision of Senecio, sub-prefect of the fleet at Misenum); 164. 11 'eorum locorum, de quibus agitur, factam determinationem . . .' (decision of *arbiter ex compromisso*, i/ii A.D.).

14 Before *oe* apparently *m* or *n*. More than one articulation is possible: *et is adue*; alternatively the woman's name might be (e.g. *Zoilo*) *Amoetis* (daughter of Amois). If the former, perhaps ] *Samo*.

17 *non uidet*ur?

21 ]sq: there seems to be an oblique stroke above and to the right of *a*.

## 3017. EDICT OF PREFECT

Plate IX

2 1B.94/J (b)

9.5 × 21.5 cm.

c. A.D. 176/7

This edict was copied on the back of the petition 2672B. The copy is a careless and illiterate one; the scribe often corrected himself, overwriting or blotting out his mistakes; two insertions (4 and 12) are in blacker ink, perhaps by a different writer. The hand has literary pretensions: in the manner of Roberts, *GLH* 23b (A.D. 260/270), but less elaborate.

The edict itself dates from the prefecture of Ti. Pactumeius Magnus, A.D. 176-7. This copy must be at least forty years later, for the petition on the front was submitted in A.D. 218; it is written in brown ink, which would normally suggest a date in the late third century or after (Turner, *Greek Manuscripts* 22 and n.).

The prefect refers to petitions which have been answered with a subscription or a letter of the form *ἐντυχέ μοι πρὸ βήματος*. He rules (lines 1-13) that such petitioners must present themselves within ten days of receiving the reply; otherwise it becomes void. The same time-limit applies to the 'registering' (*ἐνγράφειν*) of such subscriptions (13 ff.).

The general background to this measure is clear. The petitioners are, as usual, present in Alexandria (or some other assize town); they receive their reply on the spot; they have no physical difficulty in presenting themselves within ten days of receiving it. This personal attendance in town could be very prolonged and inconvenient (e.g. 486); and it might be thought that Magnus designed his measure to speed justice and relieve the petitioner. If so, the purpose is well concealed; the whole thing reads as a reproof, not as a concession.



11 ἀκολουθίαν: due legal process (Steinwenter, *JJP* 4 (1950) 219 ff.). Thus SB 9622. 12 ἐβουλόμην τότ[ε τῆ] τῶν ν[δ]μων ἀκολουθία χρῆσασθαι.

12 δεδिकाμένον συντέλειαν: the scribe wrote either *συντέλειαν* or *συντελεία[ν]*; before that he presumably intended *δεδिकाμένην* or *δεδικαμένων*. *συντέλεια* in the documents normally refers to tax-payments: is *δεδικαμένη συντέλεια* a payment which the court has decided one must make? But the parallel with *νομίμη ἀκολουθία* rather suggests *δεδικαμένων συντέλειαν* as 'the carrying out of the court's decision'.

12 f. If *εἰσπράττειν* is parallel to *ἀπέχειν*, the sentence can end intelligibly with *ἢ εἰσπράττειν ὀφείλημα*; the only doubt of reading is that *οφει-* might be simply *οφε-*. But this leaves grave difficulties with what follows.

13 ff. The fixed point is *μέντοι*, which seems certain. Before it I can find no plausible reading. *οφείλημα* is clear; then apparently *τ* (the left half of the cross-bar missing in a gap), *ο*, *ι* (an isolated upright); then *ν*; then a hole which might have contained one letter; then a single upright (*ι*? *ρ*? *ν*?); then a long and a short vertical below a horizontal (as of *τρ*); then what looks like a blotted *π*.

For the general sense, there are two initial difficulties:

1. The grammar clearly fails at some point in lines 15–19. I suggest as the simplest solution that the scribe omitted some words by parablepsy:

(a) assume that the traces between *διαγνώσομαι* and *μὲν* are fortuitous; then *διαγνώσομαι μὲν ἐντός τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀρισμένου τῶν ἡμερῶν* <χρόνου ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐντός τῶν ἡμερῶν> ἐγγράψωσι κτλ.;

(b) read the traces after *διαγνώσομαι* as *ἐ[ά]ν*, and write: *διαγνώσομαι ἐ[ά]ν μὲν ἐντός τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὀρισμένου τῶν ἡμερῶν* <χρόνου ἐγγράψωσι ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐγγράψωσι ἐντός τῶν ἡμερῶν>, ἔστωσαν κτλ.

The second accounts better for the slight but visible traces, and for the position of *μὲν*.

2. The meaning of *ἐγγράφειν* is crucial; but I have found no parallel context. In general, we might expect 'enter' (in a list or record) or 'register'. But how does this apply to *ὑπογραφαί*? Is it a matter of writing, as opposed to appearing in person (*ἐντυγχάνειν*)? or of approaching the prefect privately, as opposed to *πρὸ βήματος*? or (as Prof. Youtie suggests) of putting one's case down on the calendar of the prefect's court?

I had taken *μέντοι* (13) to introduce a contrast, and *καὶ* (14) to emphasize a concession. Petitioners who receive a subscription of the specified form must apply (i.e. appear in person) within ten days. However, even such petitioners may apply in writing rather than in person; but the same time-limit obtains.

Prof. Youtie suggests that *μέντοι* introduces an addition, not a contrast. The petitioner will have to register his subscription, in order to get a place in the prefect's judicial schedule. Magnus wishes to make it clear how his time-limit applies to this preliminary.

20 After *πρα* a flat-topped letter; *ν* might be *τ*. The sense may be *οὕτω πράττειν ἔγνωκα*, but I cannot find a reading.

31–2 The edict is likely to have ended with a date. Pactumeius Magnus held office in the joint reign of M. Aurelius and Commodus; his successor had arrived before the end of that reign (*Ann. Ép.*, 1961, no. 280, see 2760 1 note). In 31 θεο[θ] (perhaps *καὶ θεο[θ]*) is a possible reading; but I cannot fit what follows either to Marcus or to Commodus.

### 3018. PRIVILEGES OF PAEANISTAE

No inventory number

12 × 15.5 cm.

Third century

The top of a column, written in a good hand of chancery type; incomplete to the left and at the foot, but nearly complete at the right (as is shown by the space after *Καῖσαρ* in 2, and by the spreading final *ν* in 3). The back is blank.

The papyrus contains two items: (a) 1–10 a rescript of Severus and Caracalla; (b) 11 ff. a letter of Hadrian. Both concern themselves with the privileges of Paeanistae.

Such collections of evidential material are common: thus PPhil. 1, on the privileges of weavers. Notice especially M. Chr. 374 (Meyer, *Jur. Pap.* 54): a rescript of Severus and Caracalla about *longi temporis praescriptio*, followed by two earlier decisions on the same subject.

(a) bears the Latin date 7 December, and confirms an earlier rescript of Pharmouthi (April) 200. This previous decision belongs to the series which Severus issued during his Egyptian visit (PColApokr. p. 27); like the Columbia apokrimata, it was posted in the stoa of the gymnasium in Alexandria. The rescript of 7 December presumably appeared somewhere outside Egypt. The Emperors confirm some concessions made to Paeanistae; the details are missing.

(b) is a letter, in which Hadrian had ordered that Paeanistae should enjoy *ἀτέλεια* and other privileges. The prescript 12–14 is, so far as I can discover, unique; it seems unlikely to have been addressed to an Egyptian audience.

Paeanistae occur occasionally in inscriptions (see E. W. Handley, *Menander's Dyskolos* pp. 172–4). In Egypt they appear at Panopolis (SB 1743), and at Karnak (paeanistae of Serapis and Augustus); at Rome in A.D. 146 (IG xiv 1084: paeanistae of Serapis and the Emperors) and again under Severus (IG xiv 1059); at Piraeus in the earlier third century (SIG<sup>3</sup> 1110: paeanistae of Asclepius of Munychia). 3018 gives the first evidence for their privileged status. The claim no doubt had the same basis as that of the Dionysiac Artists, who cite favourable decisions of Claudius, Hadrian, Severus, and Alexander Severus (2476, 2610); both groups had ties with the imperial cult. The privileges themselves included some form of tax-exemption and some form of immunity from state-service (4 and 15, notes).

Hadrian on his accession confirmed the privileges of philosophers, rhetors, *grammatici*, and doctors (*Dig.* 27. 1. 6. 8). Many other rescripts of Severus concern themselves with exemption from liturgy. This may reflect a general second-century trend—the erosion of privileged status (N. Lewis, *Actes Varsovie* 70).

→ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ  
 Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηρικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ  
 Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Εὐσεβῆς] Σεβαστὸς Σαραπίωνι Διδύμου  
 ]οὐ ρ'γιας ἔχουσι φυλάττειν ἀμ[  
 5 ]εν τῆ στοᾶ τοῦ γυμνασίου ἡς Φαρμ(οῦθι) ι.[  
 ]το[...].αιων Ἀρεινοειτῶν παιανισταῖς δι[  
 ]εχρ[...].θηρσκειέσθαι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα χρῆ[  
 ]θεῖ[...].καὶ μηδὲν καινουργεῖσθαι. τὰ γὰρ [  
 ]συν[κε]χωρημένα ἀκωλύτως μεμ[  
 10 π]ροετέθη πρὸ ἑπτὰ εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίω[ν



↓ .ογω  
 Σεούηρω καὶ Οὐκτωρεί-  
 νω ὑπάτοις πρὸ ζ̄ εἰδῶν  
 Μαρτίων ἐν Ἀλεξαν-  
 5 δρέα. καίσαρ κατίσας  
 ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ με-  
 τὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν  
 εἰς τὸ συμβούλειον κε-  
 κλημένων ἐκέλευ-  
 10 σεν εἰσκληθῆναι πρέσβεις  
 Αἰγυπτίων τὰς  
 κοινὰς ἀξιώσεις προ-  
 φέροντας. μετ' ἄλλα ἄ-  
 ξιώσαντος Διονυσί-  
 15 ου περὶ τῶν συφορ-  
 βῶν διὰ τὸ τοὺς γε-  
 οργοὺς ἤδη γενέσ-  
 θαι πρὸς τὴν συγκο-  
 μιδήν τ[  
 20 ηδητικ. [ .α. [ . ] εἰ. [ ασε. . ]

2 οὐκ- 3 ὑπατοις 5 l. καθίσας 16-17 l. γεωργοὺς

‘... Consulship of Severus and Victorinus, 7th day before the Ides of March, at Alexandria. Caesar took his seat in the court-house with his friends and those who had been summoned to the council, and ordered that the envoys of the Egyptians, who were putting forward their common requests, should be called in. After other matter: Dionysius having made a request about the swineherds, because the farmers (?) were already engaged in bringing in the harvest... Caesar said (?): “...”’

1 .ογω: ο is a right-hand arc; there is a spot of ink within, but apparently not enough for θ or φ. γω might perhaps be πμ; but there is no trace of any following letter. Before ο a descender; this was the first letter, if the line began in normal alignment; but a trace to the left, on the edge of the papyrus, may not be accidental. I can make nothing of this. It is not a file number; nor apparently part of the consular date.

2-4 The date is 9 March 200: towards the end of Severus' stay in Alexandria as the dated rescripts reveal it (PColApokr. pp. 27 and 30).

6 ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ: nothing is known of this building, except that it was in the centre of the city (Strabo 17. 1. 10).

6-9 The *consilium* consists of two groups. The *amici* were part of the court, and travelled with the

emperor; on Severus' friends see Crook, *Consilium Principis* 84-5. The rest were specially summoned: probably (as Dr. Millar suggests) local notables, whether Romans (praetorian tribunes etc.) or Alexandrians. A similar distinction is made in the *Acta Athenodori* (Musurillo X 61-3), where the emperor summons senators and *amici*.

11 *Αἰγυπτίων*: includes the Greek-speaking inhabitants of the *chora*: see 2664 3 note; PColApokr. line 6, where Alexandrians and Egyptians seem to make up the whole population of the country.

12 *κοινὰς*: as opposed to those of individuals, who had been presenting their petitions in court nome by nome (705 36 ff.).

15 ff. Pigs were an important foodstuff, especially for the provisioning of Alexandria (W. Chr. 428; PGiss. 40 ii 18), especially too with the court in residence. But what connection have they with the harvest? (a) Pigs had at one time been used for the threshing, Hdt. 2. 14. 2 and PEdgar 49; Schnebel found no evidence for this practice in the Roman period (*Landwirtschaft* 174). (b) Pigs might be a hazard to the harvest: in the petition BGU 757 (A.D. 12) Heracles complains that two swineherds have turned their herd on to his field and fed them with the new sheaves.

A situation is easily constructed: fodder will be at its scarcest at the beginning of the harvest; the pigmen, under pressure to provide, will be at their least scrupulous. But most of this would have to come in lines 19-20; and it gives no obvious background for a repeated ἤδη (17, 20).

18-19 *συγκομιδήν*: c. τῶν καρπῶν PPreis. 4. 10, elsewhere absolute.

20 *ηδητικ.*[: ἤδη again? The final trace is an upright; perhaps the trace of a junction at mid height (η, ρ).

21 .α. [ . ] εἰ. [: the letter after εἰ is π or τ. Probably κατ[ε(αρ)] εἰπ[εν or κατ]εἰπ[εν]: the imperial decision must come somewhere in these last three lines, unless the text extended to a second column.

22 ασε. [: most like ασεκμ[.

## 3020. LETTER OF AUGUSTUS AND PROCEEDINGS OF EMBASSY

Plate X

34 4B.73/E (1) a

Fr. 1: c. 22 × 9.8 cm.

Earlier first century

This piece contains, in fr. 1, the upper part of two columns, each more or less at full width; fr. 2 comes from the head of a further column. The back of both fragments is blank. The hand is an ugly, irregular half-cursive of early Roman type (probably the same throughout, though its appearance alters after ii 7, when the scribe changed to a much sharper pen). Characteristic letters are: α with both pointed and rounded bow; ε with detached cross-bar; divided κ; deep μ; ω in three movements, middle stroke slanting to the left. Compare 2435 and the dated parallels listed in the introduction. Writing like this is not likely to be later than the mid first century.

The scribe has vulgar spellings at fr. 1 i 6 *λελοιπηκέναι*, ii 7 *πόλεος*, ii 8 *ἀπολλωγησαμ-*. There is no punctuation.

Fr. 1 col. i gives the beginning of a letter from Augustus to Alexandria; the letter, dated 10/9 B.C., reports an audience given to an Alexandrian embassy. Col. ii is a protocol: proceedings of an Alexandrian embassy before an emperor. No doubt it is the same embassy in both. The reply to its representations, and the representations themselves, were copied side by side, or perhaps consecutively (ii 1 note).

The letter is of standard type: Augustus replies to a Sardinian or a Cnidian embassy in much the same terms (Ehrenberg and Jones, *Documents* nos. 99 ii and 312); similarly Claudius' letter to the Alexandrians, PJews 1912. Only the preliminary clichés survive. The envoys had sought out the emperor in Gaul, and presented their instructions; in

particular, they rehearsed the city's grievances of past years. The emperor replies (perhaps) that he had already considered the problem.

When col. ii begins, the exegete has taken the floor. He starts his speech by introducing the envoys; they have divided the business of the embassy among themselves, Theodorus to speak about Egypt, Harpocrates about the Idios Logos, the exegete himself about the city; they have not come to defend themselves, but to require . . .

This all belongs in the context of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Two pieces are especially relevant: 2435 and PSI 1160. Both, to judge from the hand, were copied about the same time as 3020.

2435 verso records another audience given by Augustus (in A.D. 12/13) to Alexandrian envoys.<sup>1</sup> Here too the hand is crude, and the spelling shaky.

With the *Boule* papyrus, PSI 1160 (Musurillo, *Acta* I; *CPJ* ii 150), there is a link of matter. The speaker there lists the advantages of a *boule*: among them, protection *ἐῖ τις καταβαροῖτο παρὰ λόγον πραττόμενος ἢ ὑπὸ ἰδί[ο]υ λόγου ἢ τινος πράκτορος ἀνθρώπου διασειόντος*. The Idios Logos is again complained of in 3020 fr. 1 ii 6. This is historically intelligible. We know that Augustus introduced a comprehensive rule-book, the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos*; and the edict of Ti. Julius Alexander (SB 8444. 41 ff.) gives a picture of the activities of informers attached to the department. It is likely enough that a stricter interpretation and more energetic pursuit of τὰ εἰς καίσαρα πίπτειν ὀφείλοντα (Strabo 17. 1. 12), after the general chaos of the late Ptolemies, would greatly embarrass many prominent Alexandrians. 3020 refers to these early embarrassments; so probably does PSI 1160 (for the date, see *CPJ* ii p. 27). The edict shows that the situation persisted.

3020, 2435, and PSI 1160 form a group. Two of them, and probably all three, contain Augustan material. All three were copied at a date very little later than the events described. 2435 and PSI 1160 are headed with a file reference, which implies an official source;<sup>2</sup> 3020 juxtaposes its proceedings with what has all the appearance of an authentic imperial letter. There is everything to be said for taking this earliest group of *Acta* as strictly documentary.

Later *Acta* no doubt expanded and were coloured with time; the existence of recensions shows this. But the documentary basis remains. 3020 confirms that extravagant titles and bald assertiveness are not always fictional (fr. 1 ii 1 and 8); 3019 shows how material could be obtained, and how it was adapted.

<sup>1</sup> The recto records Germanicus' reception in Alexandria. We now have a name for such documents: *ἄκτα τῶν τιμῶν* (2725 21).

<sup>2</sup> Turner indeed argues that PSI 1160 is translated from a Latin original (*JRS* 45 (1955) 119).

Fr. 1

Col. i

→ αὐ]τοκράτωρ καίσαρος σεβαστὸς ἀρχιε[ρ]εὺς  
δη]μαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ' αὐτοκράτωρ  
τὸ ἰ]β' Ἀλεξανδρείων δῆμῳ χαίρειν· οὐδ  
ἐπ]έμψατε πρέσβεις ἐλθόντες εἰς Γαλατείαν  
5 πρ]ός με τάς [τ]ε ἄλλας ἐντολάς ὑμῶν ἀπέ-  
δο]σαν κα[ὶ τ]ὰ δοκοῦντα ὑμᾶς λελοιπηκέ-  
να]ι ἐν τοῖ[ς ἔ]μπροσθε[ν] ετε. ἠγηδηλωσαν  
..].[.....]ωι πρό[τε]ρον εἰ τοὺς ἡμετε-  
ρ- c. 20 ]ειν τηςδεο...[.  
10 ]ν καταλεξ[...  
πρε]σβέων οἱς...[.  
] ἐξηγητη[.

Col. ii

1 ὁ ἐξηγητῆς· Καίσαρ ἀνείκητε ἦρωσ ουτοι[...  
Ἀλεξανδρείων πρέσβεις ἡμᾶς δε  
οι[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
υ[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
5 α[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
Α[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
10 ...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].  
...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].[...].

Fr. 1 Col. i 1 1. καίσαρ 6-7 1. λελοιπηκέναι 8 1. ἦ 9 ...[: back and base of circular letter; then perhaps shallow base curve, as of c etc.; then point of ink at half line-height 11 ...[: horizontal level with top of c, perhaps point at line-level below; top of tall upright; tops of two more uprights 12 .[: curved back as of o or c







τ or anything similar, since no cross-bar is visible at any level). A nominative οἱ .[ would suit the grammar.

4 v.[.]...v: probably ὑπὲρ οὐ.

5 ]. .: not ]ν but ]αι or some similar ligature, to judge from the height of the join. -α[ϸθ]αι could be read; but I have not found a restoration which satisfies space and syllable-division.

Θεόδωρος: not elsewhere in the *Acta*. ὑπὲρ may govern Αἰγύπτου, or a further noun (which would fill the line-end neatly). E.g. ἀ[πορίας, ἀ[ξιόσεως are probably too long; Rea suggests ἀ[ρχῆς.

6 Α[. .]οκράτης: the spacing favours Α[ρ]οκράτης (rather than Α[ρις]οκράτης); neither name elsewhere in the *Acta*.

θε. .[: apparently not θεω[; perhaps θεοδ[. This might be the name of a third speaker, so that the exegete is fourth and last. But I cannot find his subject-matter at the beginning of 7, where ],ευστον looks a likely reading. Alternatively, there may have been only three speakers in all; θε. .[ would then be governed by ὑπὲρ, or attach somehow else to the Idios Logos.

8 I take the general sense to be 'we have come not to defend ourselves but to (claim our rights).' E.g. πάρε[μεν οὐκ ἀπολογησάμενο[ι --- δε]όμενοι δὲ σοῦ. Cf. 2435 58 λόγῳ γὰρ ὑμεῖς (I. ἡμ-) [ἴκετέ]ύ-σαντες (aorist participle for future again) πάρεμεν, τὸ δ' ἀληθὸς κτλ. This may be a brusque way to address an emperor, but it is not therefore excluded. Note the Dmeir inscription (no doubt an authentic extract from imperial *commentarii*), where one of the advocates is decidedly offhand with Caracalla (*SEG* xvii 759. 32). The Alexandrian request was perhaps for imperial intervention: 10 αὐτοκρατορι]κῆς (or τῆς] εἰς) ἀντιλήμ[ψεως (cf. BGU 613. 13 δεόμενος τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀντιλήμψεως τυχεῖν).

Fr. 2 Nothing is certain here. It looks as if the space above line 1, and the space at the end of line 8, are blank except for stray ink: this means the top of a column and the end of a section. But even this is not secure, given the damage to the surface.

### 3021. *Acta Alexandrinorum*

24 3B.74/J (b)

6 × 13 cm.

First century

One side of this scrap has remains of bold first-century cursive, partly covered by an adhering layer with writing in a different hand. On the other side, written across the fibres, is 3021. Of this only ends survive; the original line-length can only be guessed, since there are no certain supplements to guide us. To the right, traces of a second column. Line 17 was probably the last of the column (the space below is not wide enough to prove it, but the disposition of the text on the front suggests that this was the original lower edge).

The text mentions Alexandrian envoys, an emperor, and the Jews: it is clearly likely to belong to the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. One of the envoys was Isidorus son of Dionysius (6). If this is the gymnasiarch of the *Acta Isidori*, we may take the emperor to be Claudius and regard 3021 as part of the same *Acta*. This view is consistent with the *terminus ante* provided by the hand, which is a decent half-cursive to be compared e.g. with that of the Ninus Romance (Roberts, *GLH* 11a) and dated not later than the first century. If it is correct, this version of the *Acta Isidori* was circulating comparatively soon after its dramatic date, and a century or more earlier than the other recensions. But of course Isidorus is a common name; an envoy named Ti. Claudius [ ] (5) might appear at any time after the reign of Tiberius; and the *Acta Diogenis* and *Hermiae* might be alternative locations, even among the surviving documents.

The general outline is clear: the emperor takes his seat, the envoys appear and address him. On the surface, 11–13 may claim the restoration of old Jewish privileges; 14–16 may accuse the Jews of irreligion. Both these are novelties in the *Acta*. But the space leaves wide latitude for contrary restorations. Another novelty: the patronymic of Isidorus, if this is the gymnasiarch, was not so far known.

On the history of the *Acta*, see 3020 introduction.

	Col. i	Col. ii
	. . . . .	
↓	] .κου[. . . .].αρα.[	
	] .αϸ και ἐκάθισεν	[
	] ταῦτα υ ζυ[ν]καθημέ-	. [
	μ]ετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθαν	α[
5	] Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος	[
	] ϸ 'Ισιδωρος Διονυσίου(υ)	[
	] . πρέσβεις πάντες	[
	αὐ]τοκράτωρ σεβαστέ	. [
	Ἀλεξ]ανδρέων πρέσβεις	. [
10	] αἰων λέγετε	[
	] θα σε κύριε σεβαστέ	[
	] προόντα τοῖς 'Ιουδαίοις	[
	] .α νῦν ἐπτέρηγται	[
	] ν ἀλλὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν	[
15	] .εν τοῖς ἱεροῖς αὐτῶν	[
	] κατεμπατονται	[
	] νομενο[. .].υ. .	[

i 6 διονυσο<sup>o</sup>

'... and took his seat ... his assessors (?) ... after this there entered ... Tiberius Claudius ... Isidorus son of Dionysius ... all (the?) ambassadors ... "... Lord Emperor! ... ambassadors of the Alexandrians ... "..." (what do?) you say (about the Jews?) ..."' "... (we beseech) you, Lord Emperor ... preexisting for the Jews ... now deprived ... but of the ... of the gods ... in their temples ... are trampled ...'

1 ]. .: an upright (ι etc.).

2 ].αϸ: the trace is no more than a hooked foot at line-level. Ἀγρίπ]πας would be possible (he has a speaking part in *Acta Isidori* C). But ἐκάθισεν should refer to the emperor, as in *Act. Isid.* A i 16, 2435 30.

3 Perhaps μετὰ] ταῦτα υ (= οἱ) ζυ[ν]καθημέ[νοι ἐκάθισαν. The assessors are common form: *Act. Isid.* A ii 5, B i 1; 2435 34. On the other hand, they don't elsewhere appear in the prescript; and this

scribe does not elsewhere make phonetic errors. But I can find no other reading: of the crucial letters,  $\nu$  is clear and  $\zeta$  very likely.

5 ]  $\tau$ βέριος Κλαύδιος: the *Acta Isid.* refer to the emperor as *Κλαύδιος καίσαρ*. This  $\tau$ i. Claudius is more likely to be one of the party of envoys, who are listed in this line and the next: cf. Claudius' *Letter*, P<sup>J</sup>Jews 1912. 16-20.

6 'Ιεῖδωρος Διονυκίου( $\nu$ ) may or may not be the famous gymnasiarch (who has no patronymic elsewhere in the *Acta*).

7 ] . : ] $\epsilon$  or ] $\nu$ .

10 'Ιουδ]αίων? Perhaps the emperor tells the Jewish envoys to speak; and they (11-13) reply: 'We beg you to restore the preexisting rights of the Jews, of which they have now been deprived.'

11 Probably - $\mu\epsilon$ ]θ $\alpha$ .

13 ] .  $\alpha$ : the trace is of a curving foot, which joins the alpha:  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$   $\nu\theta\nu$ , rather than ] .  $\acute{\alpha}$   $\nu\theta\nu$ . On the face of it, 12-13 concern former privileges of the Jews, now taken away. But there are remoter possibilities, given the size of the lacuna.

14-16 would suit a charge of *ἀθεότης* against the Jews (see Jos. *Ap.* 2. 79 f., Tac. *Hist.* 5. 4): e.g. 'they despise the worship of the gods, keep no images in their temples, trample under foot normal usages of piety.'

15 ] .  $\epsilon\nu$ : the trace is of  $\rho$  or possibly  $\iota$ . Cf. Tac. *Hist.* 5. 5 'nulla simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt.'

16 ] *κατεμπατοδνται*: the verb is not in LSJ and Suppl. But the articulation ] $\kappa\alpha\tau$ ' is unpromising; and  $\kappa\alpha\tau$  rather than  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is strongly suggested by the traces. *ἐμπατεῖν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμιμα* Agathias 4. 15. 7.

## 3022. LETTER OF TRAJAN TO ALEXANDRIA

20 3B.36/E (5-7) b<sup>2</sup>

19.3 × 16.8 cm.

A.D. 98

The front of this sheet is occupied by a much-damaged private letter, hastily written with many deletions. The back was later used to copy a letter of Trajan; the copy is written across the fibres in a large crude hand (clearly not official or professional); the hand is not likely to be much later than the text itself.

The letter is an official communication to the city of Alexandria, headed with full imperial titles. It was written some time between 1 October and 9 December A.D. 98 (3 note). Its content is one of generalized benevolence: the emperor has the most friendly feelings towards the city; he and his prefect will take care for its well-being and privileges. Similar sentiments occur in other formal addresses to Alexandria: in the letters by which Augustus and Claudius replied to embassies (3020; P<sup>J</sup>Jews 1912); and two manifestos of unknown rulers, the 'Speech of Vespasian' SB 9528, and the 'Letter of Severus Alexander' SB 10295 (see now Bowman, *JRS* 60 (1970) 20 ff.). Accessions are likely to call forth such diplomacy; and no doubt Trajan is here replying to a request for confirmation of the city's privileges—a request which will have reached him some months after his accession on 28 January 98. At the same time the letter introduces the new prefect in a halo of future benefits.

Trajan did in fact show some benevolence to Alexandria, at least in the construction of fountains and gates (Dio Chrys., *Or.* xxxii 95). For the rest, he figures as villain in the *Acta Maximi* and *Acta Hermiasci*. It is of course possible that 3022 was copied as

part of the *Acta* literature, not merely for its own sake. But, whatever the copyist's interest, it has all the appearance of a genuine document.

↓ [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Νέρουας Τραιανός]  
[Σεβαστὸς Γ]ερμαν[ικὸς ἀ]ρχ[ι]ερεῖ[ς] μέγι[στος]  
[δημαρχικῆ]ς ἐξουσί[α]ς τὸ β̄ ὑπατος Ἀλεξ[...]  
[.....] καὶ τ[.]ν τῆς πόλεως η[...]  
5 [.....]ς ἐξ[α]ίρε[τον] πρὸς τοὺς σεβ[αστοὺς]  
.....ν, καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ πα-  
[τρός μο]ν μεμνημένος ἅς παρέσχεν ὑμείν  
[.....]ν . . ταις πρώτ[.]. τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καὶ  
[...]. α τούτων τῶν δικαίων ἔχων καὶ τὸς  
10 [π]ρ[ό]ς ἡμᾶς διάθεσιν ἰδίαν, παρεθέμην  
ὑμᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐμαντῶ, εἶτα καὶ τῶ  
φίλῳ μου καὶ ἐπάρχῳ Πομπείῳ Πλάντῳ,  
ἵνα μετὰ πάσης φροντίδος προνοῇ  
ὑμῶν τῆς εὐσταθοῦς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς  
15 εὐθημίας καὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ καθ' ἕκασ-  
[τον δι]καίων· ἐξ ὧν εὐδελον οὐ[.....]  
[.....]τουτο μέγιστον ἔργῳ.....[.....]  
[.....]. μίζοντος τουμ[.....]  
[.....]μ]εταλαμβαν . . ν . [.....]  
20 [ ]μα[  
[ ]ο . [   
[ ] . [   
 . . . . .

10 l. ὑμᾶς

'Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Pontifex Maximus tribuniciae potestatis II consul, to (the city of?) the Alexandrians . . . (Being well aware of) your city's outstanding loyalty towards the emperors, and having in mind the benefits which my deified father conferred on you . . . of his reign, and for my own part also, (over and above?) these claims (of yours), having a personal feeling of benevolence towards you, I have commended you first of all to myself, then in addition to my friend and prefect Pompeius Planta, so that he can take every care in providing for your undisturbed tranquillity and your food-supply and your communal and individual rights. From which (it will be?) clear . . .'

3 τὸ β̄: this term of *trib. pot.* formed a stop-gap between two different reckonings, and lasted less than three months, i.e. October to 9 December A.D. 98 (Pauly-Wissowa Suppl. x 1047f.). This conforms with the mention of Pompeius Planta as prefect (l. 12): Junius Rufus was still in office on 21 June 98

(PFamTebt. 15. 105); Planta had succeeded him by the end of 98 (Dessau 8907). The scribe must therefore have made a mistake about the consulship: ὑπατος <τὸ β> is required.

3-4 Parallel texts have Ἀλεξανδρέων τῆ πόλει χαίρειν or Ἀλεξανδρείων δήμῳ χαίρειν: 3020 i 3 n. The space here is too short for either formula, or even for Ἀλεξανδρεῖσι χαίρειν. Perhaps χαίρειν was omitted; or something was abbreviated.

4 ff. Some of the same clichés in PJews 1912. 21 ff.

4 η[ ]: probably ἡ[μῶν], i. ὑμῶν (as in 10). In what follows, we need a noun with τ[. ]ν, and a participle to govern it, e.g. καὶ τ[ῆ]ν τῆς πόλεως ἡ[μῶν]<sup>5</sup> [εὐνοίαν ὡ]ς ἐξ[α]ίρε[τον] πρὸς τοὺς σεβ[αστοὺς] <sup>6</sup> [νομίζω]ν, or (as the Press Reader suggests) <sup>5</sup> [μεμαθηκῶ]ς and <sup>6</sup> [εὐνοία]ν. The difficulty is σεβ[αστοὺς], where the supplement is about three letters more than expected; σεβ[αστ(ούς)] might be possible; σεβ[αστ(ούς)]ν gives another long supplement.

8 Perhaps [πρώτῃ]ν ἐν ταῖς πρώτ[αι]ς, 'which he conferred on you recently among the first (benefits conferred) in his reign'.

9 ...], a: not ἐνε]κα; the trace before a is apparently a flat-topped letter like tau. Perhaps με]τά.

12 τῷ φίλῳ μου: amico meo (see Sherwin-White on Pliny, Ep. x 7).

16 ἐξ ὧν εὐδελον: see 2664 6, note, for this formula.

17 ff. The sense was perhaps in outline: you will see clearly the attitude of an emperor who thinks (ν)ομίζοντος that his greatest task is this (τοῦτο μέγιστον ἔργον), namely that you should share... (τὸ ὑμ[ῶν] -- -- μ]εταλαμβάνειν).

### 3023. PROCEEDINGS BEFORE AN EMPEROR

25 3B.56/H (c)

15.5 × 12 cm.

Second century

Remains of two columns, with intercolumnium and lower margin. The hand is a fine rounded one, of the same style as the Berlin *Theaetetus Commentary* (Schubart, PGB 31): it should belong to the second century, and earlier rather than later. The back has been reused for a much damaged text of which I can make nothing at all.

The text is a report of proceedings. The parties named are an Emperor (i 5, ii 4) and a Claudius Atilianus (ii 7); Antiochenes are involved (ii 5, if the reading is correct). Otherwise the matter is quite uncertain. Col. i perhaps mentions a woman (9) and the presentation of a ὑπόμνημα (11 ff.) by a person or group called τυρ[... ] or Τυρ[...]. Col. ii concerns itself with a δικαίωμα, which has been produced against the Antiochenes.

The only firm point is Clau. Atilianus, whom I have not identified; three Atiliani are known, all of the earlier second century, one of them a consul and the other two procuratores Augusti (ii 7 n.). On the face of it, he speaks for the Antiochenes.

Beyond this we can only assume that Ἀντιοχεῖς is a certain reading, and speculate on this basis. The Antiochenes figure as a group: in what sort of case, is not clear. But why should Antiochene business turn up in Egypt? The most obvious congeners of this text are the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. We have no record of conflict between Antioch and the Roman authorities, except when the city adhered to Avidius Cassius. But it was rich and self-important; and under Gaius, Claudius, and Nero at least conducted a recurrent war with its Jewish colony (G. Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria* 192, 199, 205). Did it develop *Acta* of its own? and did the Alexandrian Greeks take a brotherly interest in them? The *Acta Hermaisci* make an interesting comparison: here,

in proceedings before Trajan, two delegations from Alexandria appear in court; the Jewish group includes *Σώπατρος Ἀντιοχεὺς τῷ γένει συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἰουδαίων*; the Greeks include *Παῦλος Τύριος τῷ γένει ἀθαίρετος συνήγορος ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξανδρέων* (Musurillo VIII i 15 and 9). Antioch appears in our text; and Τύρ[οι] is an attractive supplement at i 12.

	Col. i	Col. ii	
→	....]α..[ ...]ματο[ ...]ακκου εν[ ...]θενανα..[	. . . . . ..[	
5	καῖσα]ρ εἶπεν· λεγεςθω ....]φορ... αναγει .....]ρουτ[... ]ψη .....]προση[... ]θεν ...]. αικουστουφ[	. [ κη[ καῖσα]ρ εἶπεν· τιλ[... Ἀντιοχεῖς προς[... τὸ δικαίωμα	1 5
10	...]. ναπωνιν[ ...]. εἰ με υπομν[...]. ...]. ἐπεὶ καὶ τυρ[...]. ...]. μνημα μοι δ[...]. ...]. καὶ [μ]περι' ἐ' με[...].	Κλαύδιος Ἀτιλιανὸς [ἀπε- κρίθη· θεϊότατε αὐτ[ο- κρατόρων, πιστευε[ τοῦ]τῳ τῷ δικαίωμ[α- τι] ὡς ἀληθῆ ὄντι καὶ	10

(ii 4 ff.) 'Caesar said: What do the Antiochenes say (?) in answer to this (?) claim?

Claudius Atilianus replied: Most divine of emperors, do you (?) put faith in this claim as if it were a true one and...'

Col. i The speeches in col ii are set off by ecthesis and (at least between ii 6 and 7) by wider line-space. i 5 similarly follows a wide line-space, and contains the verb εἶπεν. The reconstruction assumes that a speech begins here, and that the line similarly projected 1½ letters into the left margin. No other verb of speaking is visible in the lines which follow, and their spacing is normal: I assume therefore that they are all part of the same speech.

Not much is to be made of the content. If the first-person pronouns in 11-14 refer to the Emperor, the situation is one in which he has received a memorandum: 11 υπομνη[ ], 12 f. ἐπεὶ καὶ τυρ[...]. [ὑπό]μνημά μοι δ[εδοκ-?]. A ὑπόμνημα plays some part in the *Acta Heracliti* (Musurillo XVIII). Otherwise we may have an appearance before a magistrate, and a woman: see 8 and 9 notes.

6 Of γ only the shaft; perhaps ι.

7 ]ψη: apparently not ]φη.

8 προσῆλθεν might fill the space, though the trace is rather low for λ.

9 γυ]γαμικός fits neatly.

10 ].: a high horizontal, intersecting the top of an upright to the left: e.g. γ, but perhaps just a linking stroke.

11 Perhaps ὑπομνη[ε]αι.

12 τῆρ[ : if the articulation, and the restoration [ὕπθ]μνημα in 13, are right, the word should be complete in about four letters. τύραννος isn't obviously attractive. There are better chances among personal and geographical names: e.g. (given the mention of Antiochenes in ii 5) Τύρ[ιοι.

14 The last trace possibly η or κ; not ι (therefore περὶ ἐμὲ [ rather than περιέμειν- ).

Col. ii 4 τιλ[ : if the next line is correctly read, one expects τί λ[έγετε or λ[έγουσιν; both give an abnormally long line, but cf. on 5.

5 Αντιοχεῖς: this is the crucial reading. τι might be ν; but I cannot see where it would lead. ρ is damaged to the right; but ε and c suit the trace less well.

προσ[ . . . : one expects πρόσ [τοῦτο, which is again two letters longer than any of the certainly restored lines below.

7 Κλαύδιος Αἰλιανός: I cannot identify this Atilianus. PIR offers only (1) A 1461 C. Aurelius Atilianus: procurator Augusti and (if it is the same man) addressee of a rescript of Antoninus; (2) C 250 P. Calpurnius Atilianus Atticus (?) Rufus (?), consul 135; (3) V 438 L. Villius Atilianus, equestribus militiis functus, procurator Augusti (Hadrian). All these have official standing, and are of the same era as the papyrus.

9 πιστευε[ : πίστευε, imperative? or πιστεύειε (statement or question)? or even πιστεύειν (with main verb at the end of the sentence)? Since the δικαίωμα is advanced on the other side, it seems most likely that ὡς ἀληθὶ ὄντι means 'as if it were true'; in which case the simple imperative is unlikely.

## 3024. LETTER OF PREFECT

21 3B.26/E (5-6) b

3.2 × 17.5 cm.

Second century

A letter from the prefect Vibius Maximus (A.D. 103/7), copied in a crude second-century cursive on the back of a now illegible document. Only line-beginnings survive.

The letter was addressed (probably) to a single strategus, and contained instructions about an individual case (3 note); edicts were mentioned (5, 10). The only real clue to content is the word κληρικῶ (12). This might refer to actors, or to stage performances. In either case we might guess that the prefect concerned himself with the privileges of a Dionysiac Artist. The letter falls before the edict of Hadrian which defined these privileges in detail (2476 4); but no doubt there will have been earlier edicts, even though 2476 does not cite them; the privileges themselves certainly go back to Augustus and Claudius (2476 1-4).

At the foot of the sheet, after a space, a second hand has added five iambic lines. The subject of this text was perhaps the wrath of Ajax; there is no clue to the source or authorship. The hand is more ambitious, but still amateur.

Drama, and even tragedy, continued to exist in Roman Egypt: see Turner, *L'Ant. class.* 32 (1963) 120 ff. It looks as if 3024 belonged to a performer, interested both in dramatic privileges and in dramatic texts.

↓ ἀντίγραφ[ον  
Ο]ύβιος Μά[ξιμος  
c]τρατηγ[. . .]  
παραγγελ[  
5 διατετα[

. . . ]λοις[  
. . . ]εμ[.  
. . . ]τω[  
. . . ]κ.ρ[.  
10 διεταξα[  
γὰρ αὐτῶ[.  
κληρικῶ[  
τὴν ἐμὴν[  
ἐδιδεμοί[  
15 (m.<sup>2</sup>) αἰαντιμηκ[  
νέα φρόνησις[  
οὐ βιάδιως τοδ[.  
στείχοντος[  
Ἑλλησι θυμ[

3 The traces allow either c]τρατηγῶ or c]τρατηγοῖς. But in 14 the articulation εδ<ε>ι cέ μοι [ looks more likely than εδ<ε>ι cέ μοι [; and cε then points to a singular addressee.

4 E.g. παραγγ<ε>ίλ[αι.

5 E.g. διατετα[γμένα, cf. 10.

9 τ]οῦ κυρ[ί]ου could be read.

11 αὐτῶ: the short space which follows implies a word-end here.

12 κληρικῶ or κληρικῶν. In published papyri, the word occurs only in the prolix titulature of the artistic-gymnastic games at Panopolis (2476 18 etc.) and Oxyrhynchus (BGU 1074. 16 etc.), the first founded in A.D. 265 and the second in c. 275. The noun κληρικός, 'actor', occurs in literature.

15 Αἶαν or Αἶαντι; αἶαν is equally possible in itself, but Ajax suits line 19. Perhaps Αἶαντι μὴ κ[.

17 οὐ or οῦ.

## 3025. LETTER OF EPISTRATEGUS

19 2B.74/L (a)

18.7 × 15.5 cm.

17 July 118

This letter is introduced by a proclamation (πρόγραμμα) of the strategus, who had been ordered to display it publicly. The letter itself (7 ff.) is concerned with liturgical appointments. That the epistrategus played some part in these was already well known: see N. Lewis, *CdÉ* 44 (1969) 339 ff. 3025 adds two new pieces of information. First, the epistrategus had recorded the names of those appointed in his *commentarii*, which were (as usual) on public display; it is implied that no other notification might have been made. Second, the epistrategus insists that all the appointees have had their qualifications properly examined, in accordance with the prefect's instructions (14 f.). These ἐντολαί, otherwise unknown, of Q. Rammius Martialis, were presumably similar in content to those which Mettius Rufus (A.D. 89-91) issues to the strategi in SB 9050

col. v; see the discussion of Mettius' rules by A. Kränzlein, *JJP* 6 (1952) 195 ff. and E. P. Wegener, *Symb. Taubenschlag* 1. 331 ff.

The back is blank.

→ Δημ[ήτ]ριος στρατηγ[ός] Ὁξυρρυγγε[ίτου].  
 τῆς γραφείης μοι ὑπὸ Ἰου[λί]ου Μαξιμιανοῦ [τ]οῦ κρατίστου  
 ἐπιστρα[τήγου] περὶ κατ[ατ]άσεως πραγμ[ατ]ικῶν  
 ἀντίγρ[αφον] δημοσίᾳ π[ρο]έθηκα ὡς [ἐκε]λεύθη,  
 5 ἵνα πάντες εἰδῶσι ἃ δ[ι]ετάξατο. ἔτους δευτέρου  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τρ[αίαν]οῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Ἐπειφ κ̄γ.  
 Ἰούλιος Μαξιμιανὸς Δημητρίω στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρρυγγεῖτου χαίρειν.  
 εἰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνη[μ]ατικῶν οὐκ προτέθεικα  
 δῆλα ἔσται τὰ τῶν κατ[α]σταθέντων εἰς τὰς πρα-  
 10 γματείας ὀνόματα, οὐ περιεσδὸν ἡγησάμην τὸ καὶ διὰ  
 τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι φανερά, ἦν καὶ αὐτὴν  
 βούλομαι σε ἐν δημοσίᾳ [πρ]οθεῖναι τόπω· πέπεισμαί  
 γὰρ ἅπαντας τοὺς κατασταθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὡς ὑπο-  
 λαμβάνω ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μεθ' ἧς προσῆκεν ἐξετάσεως  
 15 ἀκολούθως ταῖς [τ]οῦ κρατίστου ἡγεμόνος ἐντολαῖς  
 . . . . .

7 στρδ

Demetrius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite:

I have put on public display, as instructed, a copy of the letter written to me by Julius Maximianus the most excellent epistrategus about the appointment of officials, so that every one may know the regulations he has made. Second year of Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Epeiph 23.

Julius Maximianus to Demetrius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Even though the names of those who have been appointed to the offices will be clear from the day-books which I have displayed, I have thought it not superfluous to announce them in this letter also, which letter too I wish you to display in a public place. For I am persuaded that all those appointed by me . . . in my judgement, carefully and with the proper investigation [in accordance with] the commands of the most excellent prefect . . ."

<sup>1</sup> The first three words make a complete prescript, as e.g. *PIand.* 140, *PLeit.* 5. 19 f., *PYale* 61. This is our earliest reference to Demetrius (17 July 118); he is seen in office later in 1547 1 (23 Jan. 119) and *PFouad* 30. 1 (26 Jan. 121).

<sup>2</sup> Maximianus is attested a month earlier by *PSI* 281. 41 ff. (19 June 118).

<sup>6</sup> Ἐπειφ κ̄γ: this date fits the categories of official normally appointed by the epistrategus (see Lewis l.c.). Thus the appointments of praetors regularly took place in Pachon/Payni.

## 3026. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

20 3B.37/D (3) a

33 × 23.3 cm.

c. 165/6

This tattered sheet contains copies of official letters: on the front two columns, the first full width; on the back a docket, written along the fibres, and a further letter in a different hand (printed below as 3027). The sheet is damaged at head and foot; to judge from the docket, not much is missing at the head, but 8 cm. or more at the foot (i 26 n.).

The correspondence is that between the Idios Logos and the strategus and royal scribe of the Metelite nome. The originals were written in the period 29 August 165 to 5 May 166 (i 6 n.). The copy was made for (or by) the strategus (i 10 ἐμοί); he was in office when the letter i 14 ff. reached him, out of office when the docket was written (*Back* 1 στρατηγῆσαντος).

i 9 begins a new section, set off by a blank line-space. The letter itself begins in 14. Before it is an elaborate heading in three sections: the authority from whom the letter issues (9), the parties involved (10–11), summary of content (12–13). The same letter perhaps continues to ii 26; but it would be very long, and in any case the docket (*Back* 2) implies a plurality; probably we should assume a fresh start between i 24 and ii 5.

So far as can be seen, then, this is a copy of correspondence received. Other such letter-books are known, see *PBeattyPanop.* pp. xxi f. But the elaboration of i 9–13 is not easy to parallel. *PAmh.* 137. 15 is something like. Closer still is the letter published in *JEA* 55 (1969) 189, whose heading might be restored: Ὁάσεως Θεβαΐδος (administrative sector) *C[εξτιλίου Ἰέρακος]* (name of writer) περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ δ[ιατριβόντων] (summary).

The actual situation presupposed in i 14 ff. is this. The Idios Logos concerned itself among other things with property which fell in to the State. The community of Hagnu in the Metelite nome had failed to report some treasury property (i 19 f.). The antarchiereus Salvius Justus had written to the strategus on 21 May 164, but received no information (17–20). Next, the eclogistes of the nome wrote requiring that copies of the reports in local archives should be submitted for inspection (20 ff.). Presumably this letter too produced no results, for Dorion now writes the present letter on the same subject. Col. ii is too much damaged to follow the further progress of this wrangle.

Salvius Justus is new to the fasti; his office has been attested so far only by SB 9016.

## Col. i

→ .[ ]..  
 [ ]  
 [ ]μο  
 [ ]κιλιου  
 5 .[ ιδί]ου λόγ[ου] ἐπι-  
 τρο[πη] c. 25 ἀπὸ Θῶθ ἕως Πα]χῶν δεκάτης  
 τοῦ ς (ἔτους) ..[ c. 35 ]...ημερα  
 .μου...[ c. 35 ]  
 ιδίου λόγου (vac.)  
 10 Δωρίωνος ἐγλογιστο[ῦ] Μετηλεί]τρον ἔμοι καὶ τῷ βασιλικ[ῶ]  
 γραμματεῖ γραφεῖς[ης] c. 12 ]  
 περὶ τοῦ ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸν βιβλιοφύλακ[α π]αρενέγκαι προσφω-  
 νήσεις ἀνηκόντων τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄγνου.  
 Δωρίων ἐγλογ[ι]στής Μετηλείτου Αἰλίω Διδύμω τῷ καὶ Cερήνω  
 15 στρατηγῷ καὶ Διοσκόρω τῷ καὶ Ἄνουβίω βασιλικῷ γρα[μματεῖ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 νομοῦ τοῖς φιλτάτοις χαίρειν.  
 πρὸς τὰ γραφέντα [.]...εἰρ[.]... στρατηγῷ τῷ δ (ἔτει) Ἄντωνίν(ου)  
 καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατ[ό]ρ[ων] Παχῶν κς ὑπὸ Cα-  
 λουίου Ἰούστου τοῦ ἀνταρ[χ]ιερ[έ]ω[ς] περ[ι] τῶν ἀπὸ Ἄγνου μὴ  
 20 σημανάντων τὰ τῷ ταμείω [δι]αφέρον[τ]α [οὐδ]᾽ ἐδηλώθη· ἐπεὶ δὲ  
 καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' ἔμοῦ ἐπ[ι]στ[α]λέν[τα] περὶ τοῦ τῶν οὐσῶν αὐτῶν  
 προσφωνήσεων ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ [τό]πων βιβλιοθήκῃ ἀπὸ ιε (ἔτους) Μεχειρ  
 ἕως κβ (ἔτους) Φαῶφι τὰ [ἀ]ντίγραφα μεταδοθῆναι προς...α  
 ...[ c. 10 ]ωτο.. παρατε[θ]ῆναι [..]δηλω.η.....  
 25 τα[ ]  
 ..[ ]

10 βασιλι<sup>κ</sup>

15 γρ S

17 αντωνιν.

## Col. ii

...[ ]  
 .....[ ]  
 ....[ ]  
 νομου[ ]  
 5 ε...[ ]  
 γεν[ ]  
 επισ[ ]  
 ρομ[ ]  
 νωντ[ ]  
 10 ενοι...[ ]  
 το τοις...[ ]  
 ρισατεξήτας...[ ]  
 τὰς παρ[ατε]θείσας ὑμ[ῖν]  
 οὐδ' αὐτὰ[ς] μέχρι δευ[ ]  
 15 επισταλ[... ] ὑμῖν π.[ ]  
 π...[...].η[.]ποτ[ ]  
 ἐπεσταλέναι τῷ το[ ]  
 ρει ἢ' ἰδῆ καὶ τὰ ἴδια μ[έρη]  
 γεγραφέναι ἵνα παν[ ]  
 20 τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικ[ ]  
 τ]ῆν ἐξέτασιν ποιησαμ[ ]  
 ἐπέστευλα ὑμῖν ἵνα[ ]  
 λείας μεταδῶτε ..[ ]  
 τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου τῆν ἐξ[ ]  
 25 ἐρρωσθ(αι) ὑμ[ᾶς] εὐχομαι  
 (ἔτους).. Ἄντωνίνου καὶ Οὐήρου  
 τῆς ἐπὶ ᾿το(λής) τὸ ἀντί[γραφον]  
 μέρη ἀναπληρω[ ]  
 ].....[ ]

ii 25 ερρωσθ ὑμ[ ]

27 ἐπίτο<sup>λ</sup>

Back, →  
 1 Αἰλίου Διδύμου τοῦ καὶ Σε[ρή]νου στρατηγῆ(σαντος) Μετηλ(είτου) [καὶ  
 β]α[α]λ(ικοῦ) γρ(αμματέως) [... ] τοῦ αὐτοῦ νομο(οῦ) .[ c. 22  
 τῆς τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου) ἐπιτροπ(ῆς) τῶν ἀπὸ Θῶθ ἕως Παχῶν (vac.) δεκάτης  
 3 αὐτοκρατόρων (vac.) . . . . ἰδιο[  
 Back 1 στρατηγῆ<sup>7</sup> μετη<sup>λ</sup> β]α[α]λ<sup>λ</sup> γρ<sup>ς</sup> νο<sup>ς</sup> 2 ἰδιο<sup>δ</sup> ἐπιτρο<sup>δ</sup>

Col. i 9 ff. 'Idios Logos. (Letter) of Dorion, eclogistes of the Metelite, written to me and to the royal scribe. About pressing the bibliophylax to deliver reports of property belonging (to the treasury) from the inhabitants of Hagnu.

'Dorion, eclogistes of the Metelite, to Aelius Didymus alias Serenus, strategus, and to Dioscorus alias Anubion, royal scribe, of the said nome, his very dear friends, greetings. In reply to the letter written to . . . strategus in the 4th year of Antoninus and Verus our lords the emperors, on the 26th of Pachon, by Salvius Justus the deputy high-priest, in the matter of the inhabitants of Hagnu, who had not signified property pertaining to the treasury—no information has been given. And since in reply to my own further instructions about the submission for examination of copies of the reports which exist . . . in the local record office . . .'

i 4 ]κίλιου: it looks like a proper name. Note that ] Cιλίου is not a possible reading (L. Silius Satrianus, Idios Logos in 164 or 165).

6 f. The docket, Back 2-3, seems to repeat this, which suggests that the beginning of this column too is a general title for the collection which follows. The legible parts of the two passages supplement one another to give the date, Thoth (1) to Pachon 10, 29 Aug. 165 to 5 May 166.

7 ε (ἔτους) . . . : we expect imperial titles, as in 17 f.; the formula may end before the lacuna ends, or project beyond it (αὐτοκρατ[όρων] ἡμερα). ἡμερα is unexpected but unavoidable; the next word begins with a rounded letter (ε, ο, c). Rea suggests ἡμέρα | Ἐρμού, 'Wednesday'. In that case, a month and a numeral must precede: restore τοῦ ε (ἔτους) Ἀγ[τωνίου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων Πα]χῶν ἡμέρα Ἐρμού (Πα]χῶν only *exempli gratia*; the traces are indecisive).

9-10 The eclogistae belong to the department of the Idios Logos: PRyl. 83. 18 note.

11 γραφεί[ης]: if a supplement is necessary, τὸ ἀντίγραφον as in ii 27.

12-13 See on 20.

13 Ἄγνοῦ: the seat of a bishopric in Coptic times, but not otherwise known from sources of the Roman period: see Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte* (1919) 5. It must have some connection with the Ἄγνον (Ἄγνοῦ?) κέρασ, which projected into the sea east of the Rosetta mouth (Strabo 17. 1. 18). Here the town clearly lies in the Metelite nome. According to Gauthier (*Les Nomes* 144 ff.) this nome was between the Canopic and Rosetta mouths; our text shows that the nome extended east of the Rosetta mouth, or else that Hagnu lay west of it.

17 στρατηγῶ: one expects 'to X your predecessor as strategus', but I cannot read πρὸ σοῦ among the traces.

τῶ δ (ἔτει): 21 May 164: rather more than a year before the present letter.

18 f. Καλουίου Ἰούστου: not in Pflaum, *Carrières*. An account of grain from the granary of Sinary (to be published by Dr. John Shelton) mentions land (πρότερον) Σαλουίου Ἰούστου (line 254); the account dates from the reign of Severus Alexander or less probably Gallienus.

19 ἀναρχ[χ]ιέρειω[ς]: the office is attested only in SB 9016, of A.D. 160. The then holder, Ulpian Serenianus, had clearly moved on by 164. The office was no doubt that of permanent deputy to the High Priest, not of temporary substitute (διαδεχόμενος): Pflaum, *Carrières* 521 f. Serenianus climbed the hierarchy to become archiereus himself by A.D. 171. If Salvius Justus could be identified with

Salvius Julianus, archiereus in 185, we could suppose the same form of promotion; but Julianus and not Justus is read for certain in the later text (BGU 82).

20 τὰ τῶ ταμίω [δι]αφέρω[τ]α: so M. Chr. 91 ii 10. The same items are called ἀνήκοντα in 13. Reports were submitted by comogrammateis to their strategus: W. Chr. 172 (A.D. 196) δηλῶ μηδὲν εεσημάει(αι) μοι ἀνήκον τῆ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιτροπῆ, similarly W. Chr. 72 and SPP xx 33 (priestly duties), P1and. 139. 24-7 (fallen trees). Cf. the monthly summaries, headed δι' ἀνηκόντων μηνός X, in P1and. 139. 12 and BGU 492. 3. The προσφωνήσεις mentioned in lines 12 and 22 must be reports of this kind. From our text it becomes clear that copies of these reports were lodged in the nome-archive (22); the keeper is to be made to produce them (12) for detailed vetting (23). The further stages of this vetting are illustrated by P1and. 139.

22 f. The years are presumably those of Pius: Mecheir 152 to Phaophi 158. The inquiry, conducted in 165/6, looks back a long way.

24 e.g. ]ω τόπω παρατε[θ]ῆναι, [ἐ]θελώθη ἐπιστα. . .

26 The left margin is preserved for c. 2 cm. below this line. Its lower edge might, from its appearance, be the original edge of the sheet. But the docket, assuming the supplement in line 2 to be certain, shows that at least 8 cm. of papyrus are lost below.

ii 12 ἐξηταμένον [ would fit traces and context. But I don't see how to articulate what precedes (e.g. κατεχω]ρίσατ'?).

14 μέχρι δέ υ[ ] or μέχρι δεῦ[ρο].

17 E.g. τῶ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγῶ.

18 For the formula (1. εἰδῆ) see 27 f., n.

19 ff. E.g. ἴνα πάν[τες] - - - οἱ] τοῦ νομοῦ πραγματικ[οἱ] - - - τ]ῆν ἐξέτασιν ποιησάμ[ενοι] - - -.

24 E.g. τῆν ἐξ[έτασιν].

26 Restore Ἀντωνίου καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων, month, day: a line of approximately the same length as in col. i.

27 f. Cf. 18. The full formula PGiss. 48. 28-30: - - - ὑποτάξας ἐπιστέλλω, φίλτατοι, ἴν' εἰδῆτε καὶ ἕκαστος τὰ ἴδια μέρη ἀναπληρώσῃ. Do these lines continue a covering note, in which the letter which precedes was quoted? Or are they a memorandum of the strategus?

Back 2 For the dates see on i 6 f.

3 At the end perhaps ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδιο[υ] λόγου.

## 3027. OFFICIAL LETTER

20 3B.37/D (3) a

33 × 23.3 cm.

A.D. 161-169

This letter is written across the fibres on the back of 3026; the docket to 3026 occupies the left margin.

The letter is addressed to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, and delegates to him the decision in a law-case; the writer must be a higher official, perhaps the epistrategus. The procedure is familiar from documents which show it from the petitioner's side. Sarapion (line 2) will have delivered his petition to the epistrategus; one copy will be returned to him with the subscription μηδενός ἐπεχομένου ἔντυχε τῶ στρατηγῶ ἀπόδος (see PTebt. 327 and 439); another copy, signed, goes to the relevant strategus, together with the covering letter 3027.

3027 itself must be a copy or a draft (written on scrap paper, with a date which lacks the month and day). Probably it is a draft: this supposition explains the partial dating and the subscription (9-10). The letters on the other side are certainly copie

Both sides are of about the same date, though written by different hands; the connection between them may be that one and the same official had an interest in all the business involved.

The text gives a new context to the phrase *μηδενός ἐπεχομένου*, and perhaps throws some light on its meaning (5 note).

↓ A[ c. 27 στρ]ατηγῶν Ὁξυρρυγχείτου χαίρειν·  
βιβ[λιδίων ἐπι]δοθέντων [μ]οι ὑ[πὸ] Σαραπίωνος Τερεντίου γραμματέως  
πράκτορος τ[ὸ] ἕτερον σημειώμενος ἔπεμψά σοι, ὅπως διαγνοῦ[ς]  
μετοξὺ αὐτοῦ κα[ὶ] ο[ὗ] αἰτιάται ἑτέρου πράκτορος τὰ προσήκοντα  
5 ἀποφήνη, μηδεν[ός] ἐπεχ[ο]μένου τῶν πράσσεσθαι ὀφειλόντων.  
ἔρρωσθ(αί) σε εὖχο(μαι). (ἔτους) . Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀυρηλίου  
Ἀντωνίνου  
Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιakoῦ Μ[ηδ]ε[κ]οῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου καὶ Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
Λουκίου Ἀυρηλίου Οὐ[ῆ]ρου Σεβα[στ]οῦ Ἀρμενιakoῦ Μηδικοῦ Παρθικοῦ Μεγίστου  
space of c. 12 cm.  
(m.2) δὸς ὑπ[ε]ρ[ ] c. 40 ]  
10 ...[ ] τῶς σεση(μείωμαι)  
6 ερρωσθ εὖχθ 10 σεση

'... , strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, greetings. Petitions have been submitted to me by Sarapion, son of Terentius, practor's secretary. Of these I have signed one and sent it to you, so that you can decide between him and the other practor whom he accuses, and return the proper verdict; no matter which needs to be considered is reserved from your jurisdiction (?). Year 7 (?) of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus and Emperor Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus.

(2nd hd.) Give to the assistant (?) . . . I have signed (?) . . .'

1 The lacuna might contain (a) the name of the writer only; (b) the name of the strategus only; (c) the names of both. (c) is the most natural; (b) would characterize an unfinished draft; (a) is quite possible, as *W. Chr.* 28 shows. The limiting factors are the initial *a*; and the date or possible dates of the document (see 6 note). Within the relevant period, the writer (who is presumably of higher rank than the strategus) might be the prefect (M.) Annius Syriacus (161/2–2. Mar. 164, see BGU 2058. 13), or the epistrategus Aquilius Capitolinus (2563 1); the only known Oxyrhynchite strategus is Clau. Demetrius *alias* Hermias (166–7).

5 The parallel phrases are as follows:

*μηδενός ἐπεχομένου ἔντυχε τῷ στρατηγῶν ἀπόδος* or sim.; PTebt. 327 and 439, SB 9340;  
*μηδενός ἐπεχομένου* alone: 488, PStrass. 57 (corrected by Martin, *Archiv* 6. 217);  
*μηδεν[ός] ἐπεχομ[έν]ο[υ] ὁ κρ[ά]τις ἐπιστρά[τη]γος εἴ[ρη]ται [ὁποῖ]α [...].[.] ἐστῆν ἢ ἀξιώσει 2131 19*  
(amended from POslo III 81. 6).

In all these the formula constitutes the subscription of a petition; and in all the case is certainly or probably being referred from a higher official to a lower one. Hunt (2131 19) translates 'without pre-

judice to anything . . .'; LSJ *ἐπέχω* IV c 'no objection being taken'; the *WB* takes the verb as middle, 'Einspruch erheben' (and *μηδενός* must then be personal). Our text is unique in adding *τῶν πράσσεσθαι ὀφειλόντων*, which does at least make it clear that *μηδενός* is neuter. I guess that the meaning is 'no necessary procedure being reserved', i.e. that the investigation and decision is put entirely in the hands of the strategus. But *ἐπέχειν* has many ambiguities.

6 (ἔτους) . : the year-sign is clear; just after the vertical a long high oblique, descending gently to where the papyrus breaks off; then traces of ink below the gap. Of the numerals possible within this nine-year reign, *a*, *δ*, and *ζ* might suit the traces: 161, 163/4, 166/7. It could be argued that all but the last is excluded, because the recto text mentions the 4th year of the same emperors (163/4) and a 6th year probably of the same reign (165/6) (3026 i 17, i 7). But even if we allow that 3027 was copied later than 3026, there is no proving that the originals were copied in their chronological order. The question remains open.

9 Perhaps *δὸς ὑπ[ε]ρέτη*.

10 Perhaps *διὰ Χ γραμμ[α]τέως*.

## 3028. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

23 3B.13/E (3) a

15.5 × 34 cm.

Earlier 3rd century

Remains of one column of writing, preserved to full height. The papyrus was cut down, and the back reused for 3048; consequently we have only part of what must originally have been very long lines. The main text is written in a handsome third-century cursive. A scribble in the upper margin probably refers to the proclamation on the back (3048 introd.).

The text is a letter or petition. It is addressed to a *μεγαλειότης* (6), probably the prefect. Its date depends on three indications: (1) 3048 on the back dates from A.D. 247; (2) Herennianus (10) is likely to be the iuridicus and acting prefect of 225; (3) accordingly the 12th year mentioned in l. 19 is likely to be 12 Alexander Severus, A.D. 232/3, rather than 12 Septimius Severus, A.D. 203/4; 12 Gallienus can be excluded under (1). 3028 therefore belongs between 232/3 and 247.

The writer was apparently responsible for the collection of taxes in wheat; he claims to have been very diligent (15–18), but strictly legitimate in his methods (23); others blamed him (2) as reckless and unjust (5, 7). Arrears are still owing, and he reserves the right to complete collection (25–6). It might be inferred that the writer is a *πράκτωρ* *σιτικῶν*. The details of the affair remain obscure. But three points are of some interest: the Oxyrhynchites bewailing their ruin (8); the sending of troops (12), presumably to help in the collection; and the reference to threshing floors (13), which might mean that the harvest was kept at the floor until the government had taken its due—a practice attested for Ptolemaic Egypt, but not evidenced in Roman Egypt before 1255 of A.D. 292.

→ ] κύριέ μου τῆ δ[ ] τοῦ Χοιὰκ μηνός δι' ὧν ηθ.[  
]ει σου προενεχθεῖσαν κατὰ τῆς ἀπαιτήσεω[ς]  
]ετι καὶ δηλώσας ἃ ἔγραψας αὐτοῖς ἐν οἴς . . . απο. . .[  
]υς ἐλέσθαι τοὺς καταστησομένους ἐπὶ τουσου[ ]



5 ]μοι ἀρμόσασθαι τῇ ἀπαιτήσε[ι] ὡς μὴ δικαίαι[  
 μεγ]αλειότητι σου δηλώσαι προήχθην πᾶν τὸ εν[  
 ]ντων ἔργων ὡς οὐ τε' προπετῶς ἐπὶ ταῦτα [  
 ]ναι ὀδυρόμενοι ἀνάστασιν Ὁξυρυγχεῖτα[.  
 10 ἐλ]πίδος ἀποκοπέεις τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλ[λ]ον καὶ πρὶν ἠλαμπ[  
 ]ω Ἐρηνιανῶ ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν δι' ὧν ἐπεστειλ[  
 ]τατω ταμείω ὡς ἂν ἐπίτροπος τῇ ἀπαιτήσῃ .π. .[  
 στρατι]ώτας διδοῦς καὶ δεκαδάρχας π[έ]μπων καὶ αὐτο[.  
 ]α πρότερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλωνιῶν ἕν' ἀπ' αὐτῶν τω[  
 ]ναι τὸν ἴδιον κανόνα καὶ εἰ μὴ [ῆ]ν φορτικὸν κα[  
 15 ]σας μοι ἐπιστολὰς ἕως δι[.].ην ἐπαγρυπν[  
 ἐ]γγράφως μὲν ἐνετελλόμεν[ν] ἀ]πειλῶν δε ου[.  
 ] ἐνεκείμην ἀλλὰ διαφερέτω [τ]αῦτα προς[  
 ]α αὐτὰ διετέλουν λαβῶν δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τὰ τοῦ κρατί[στου]  
 ] ὀλοκλήρους τοὺς σειτικοὺς φόρους τοῦ ἰβ (ἔτους) ἀπαιτ[  
 20 ] βουλευτὰς ὑπόσχεσιν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ποιήσασθαι [  
 τ]οῖς γενομένοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἃ καὶ ὑπέταξεν [  
 γ]ραφέντα μοι ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ ἐπισταλέντα [  
 ]α ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν ὀδῶ νομιμωτάτῃ τῆς ἀπαι[τήσεως]  
 ] ἐτίθεντο τὰ κελευόμενα αὐτίκα μάλα τῆς μη[  
 25 ]ων ὀφειλομένων τῷ ταμείω μετὰ ταῦτά μου [  
 ] ἐμοῦ κυρίου περὶ τοῦ ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου τὴν ἀπαίτη[σιν]

16 ε]ν'γραφως

1 ηθ.[: the scribe has a tendency to divide his words; and here θ is slightly spaced from η. Therefore e.g. ἡ θε[ία πρόνοια rather than e.g. ἡθε[λε].

2 E.g. ἀξίωσιν τῇ τάξ[ει] (or τῷ μεγέθ[ει]) σου προσερχθεῖσαν.

3 . . ατο. .[: perhaps κ[.].]ατο[ο]μ[.].

4 σουσου[: again, the scribe has left a space, which suggests τοῦ σου[ rather than τοὺς ου[.

6 μεγ]αλειότητι: applied to emperors, prefects, and catholici. Here presumably the prefect, since the office of catholicus was not created until c. 245 (JRS 57 (1967) 138).

9 λαμπ[: π is almost certain (not β). πρὶν ἢ λαμπ[? πρὶν ἢ λαμπ[?

10 Ἐρηνιανῶ: 3076 introduction.

11 E.g. τῷ ἱερῷ]τάτω ταμείω. After ἀπαιτήσῃ, ἀπό corrected to ἐπὶ or ἐπί corrected to ἀπό; then most probably π or τ.

15 E.g. πεμφθε[ί]σας.

δι[.].ην: the trace after δι excludes διὰ τῆν; and δὲ τῆν looks short for the space. Perhaps διπλῆν ἐπαγρυπν[ίαν], though the trace is rather long and flat for λ.

19 ἰβ (ἔτους): if β is right, it was written in the open-topped cursive form; the upper parts of the verticals are preserved, with (apparently) blank papyrus above (therefore not ε or θ) and at line-level (therefore not α).

24 Again, a space before ἐτίθεντο.

26 E.g. μένοντος] ἐμοῦ κυρίου.

## 3029. LETTER TO STRATEGI

8 1B.190/G (a)

8.8 × 14 cm.

Valerian

This letter is preserved to full height; but a large part, perhaps two-thirds, of each line is lost. The back of the sheet has been reused for an account of wine. The handsome upright hand has affinities with the Chancery type.

The letter is addressed to the strategi of three or more specified nomes. The writer (perhaps the prefect) gives them instructions which involve an *opiniator*. The outline situation can be reconstructed from several letters in PBeattyPanop. 2. The *opiniator* is sent to collect money for the issue of military pay and donatives. Here some payment is due for Mesore (3); and there is perhaps to be a donative for some festival in honour of a Valerian (5-6).<sup>1</sup> The document makes it clear that neither the *opiniator* nor his missions was an innovation of Diocletian.

→ ]<sup>χ</sup>  
 ]<sup>β</sup>  
 ]τρατηγοῖς τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων] νομῶν  
 ]νων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μεσορῆ μ[ηνός  
 ]εντι ἑκατοντάρχῳ οπι[  
 5 τ]ῆς εὐτυχεστάτης ἡμέρας [  
 ] Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοῦ πρεσβυτέ[ρου  
 (m.<sup>2</sup>) ἔρρωσθαι ὑμ]ᾶς εὔχομαι  
 (m.<sup>1</sup>) ]ιτου Κυνοπολίτου ἄνω

2 υπογεγραψ

1 Presumably ](ἑκατονταρχ). This cannot be the addressee: only one centurion is involved (4), but the greeting (7) is to a plurality. The strategi, then, are the addressees: for the form, with the list of nomes at the end, cf. e.g. PBeattyPanop. 2. 32 ff. Line 1 will have contained the name of the centurion who carried this letter of authorization with him.

To the right is an isolated trace, most like the lower part of a small *chi*.

3 E.g. τῶν ὀφειλομ]ένων.

4 E.g. τῷ ἀποσταλ]έντι ἑκατοντάρχῳ οπι[νιάτορι. On the *opiniator* see PBeattyPanop. 2. 41 note.

5 ἡμέρας: donatives for the birthday and *dies imperii* of Diocletian, PBeattyPanop. 2. 162 etc.; for the third consulship of Constantius and Maximian 2. 267.

6 τοῦ πρεσβυτέ[ρου]: 'the elder' (as distinct from his grandson)? or 'the senior Augustus' (as distinct from Gallienus)? For the second cf. PBeattyPanop. 2. 163 etc. Alternatively, the reference might be to the younger Valerian, as elder son of Gallienus. The word does not occur in any of the titulatures of the Valeriani collected by Bureth, *Titulatures impériales*.

8 ]ίτου: perhaps Ὁξυρυγ]ίτου, since it lies immediately to the North of the Upper Cynopolite. There will have been at least one more nome before this (the Heracleopolite?), since the initial lacuna must be long enough to contain the name and title of the writer in line 2.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rea refers to 1185 29 for a βασιλέως ἐορτή of the same reign (on the date of Magnus Felix, see *BASP* 4 (1967) 120).

## 3030. OFFICIAL LETTER OF ROYAL SCRIBE

26 3B.51/B (3-4) b

12 × 18 cm.

Plate IX  
31 March 207 (?)

This piece comes from a *τόμος συγκολλησίμος*; a strip with line-ends from another document still adheres to the left. On the back is the address and (perhaps) a docket. The content is clear in outline (here I am especially indebted to Dr. Rea). Some tax has been collected over a four-year period. With the end of the period, each royal scribe has to document the tax-transactions which concern his own tax-payers, whether carried on in his own nome or in another. In 3030, therefore, a royal scribe writes to his colleague in the Themistes division of the Arsinoite, and asks to be notified of relevant transactions in that nome; he adds the assurance that he himself has done and will do his duty by his colleagues in the same way. Further understanding depends on the tax involved. I suggest that the tax was the *ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων*; and that the *οἰκονομῖαι* (6) were transfers of catocic land, reported to each royal scribe by his *βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων* (10). See 3 n.

The hand has considerable palaeographic interest. It is basically a literary hand; only the cursive  $\kappa$  and the occasional ligatured groups (12 and 14 δε, 14 -με) lower the tone. Characteristic letter-forms are  $\mu$  in three movements,  $c$  in two,  $\phi$  diamond-shaped. Uprights are thickly ornamented with serifs and back-hooks. The general effect is much like that of 2555, of the late first century. It is salutary to have, precisely dated, so late an example of this fragile decorated style.

(m.<sup>6</sup>) [..... Π]αῦνι ιβ̄  
→ (m.<sup>1</sup>) Αμ]μώνιος βασιλ(ικὸς) γρ.....εως .....[.  
βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) (m.<sup>2</sup>) Αρ(νοίτου) Θεμ(ίστου) μερίδ(ος)  
(m.<sup>1</sup>) τῶ [φιλ(τάτω) χα(ίρειν).  
τ[ο]ῦ διὰ τετραετηρίδος πρασσομένου αριθμ[...].  
τ[ε]λέματος λήξαντος κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐτῶν  
5 πε]ρίοδον εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ἔτος ἐπιστέλλω σοι,  
φίλτατε, ω...ς τελιωθείσας παρὰ σοὶ οἶκον[ο-  
μίας ...].[...].[...].ς τούτου ἀνηκούσας τῶ[ν]δε τῶ  
νομῶ ...].[...].μοι δηλώσης πρὸς τὸ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὰ  
ἀκόλουθα γενέσθαι· ὅσαι μέντοι ἐσημάνθησαν  
10 ἐνταῦθα [... βι]βλιοφύλακος ἐγκτήσεων  
ἀνήκουσαι [ἐτ]έροις νομοῖς μέχρι τούτου, αὐταὶ  
φανερὰ ἐγ[έ]νοντο οἷς διέφερον· εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν  
μεταδοθῶ[σιν] ἀνήκουσαι τῶ ὑπ[ὸ] σοὶ νομῶ,

## 3030. OFFICIAL LETTER OF ROYAL SCRIBE

15 φανερά [σοι γ]ενήσονται· εἰ δὲ μή, εἴσθι ἀρκούμε-  
νόν με [τῶδε τῶ] ἐ]πιστάλματι. (m.<sup>3</sup>) ἐρρῶ-  
χθαί [σε ε]ὔχ[ο]μαι, φίλτ(ατε).

(m.<sup>4</sup>) (ἔτους) ἐξ' Α[ὐτοκρατ]όρων Καϊσάρων Λουκίου Σεπτ[ι]μίου  
Σεργή[ρ]ου Εὐ]σεβοῦς Περτίνακος Ἀραβικοῦ Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ  
20 Παρθικοῦ Μ[εγί]στου καὶ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίν[ο]υ  
Εὐσεβοῦ[ς] Σε]β[α]στῶν Φ[α]ρ[μ]ουθίου ε.

(m.<sup>5</sup>) δι' ..... ἀρ[χ]ῆ Παχῶ(ν) κ-  
Back, → βασιλ(ικῶ) γρα(μματεῖ) Θεμ(ίστου) μερίδ(ος)  
↓ ]....οβ..

1 βασῑ 2 βασῑ 3 γρας 4 αρ̄ 5 θεμστ̄ 6 μεριδ̄ 7 4 -ματος: ο corr. from ε, crossed out, small ο  
superscript 8 ιπ 9 εγ'κτ- 10 21 παχ̄

'(6th hd.) ... Pauni 12.

Ammonius, royal scribe ... to (...?) the royal scribe of the (2nd hd.) Arsinoite, Themistes division, (1st hd.) his very dear friend, greetings. Since the ... tax which is exacted over a period of four years has lapsed with the term of years in the present year, I am writing to you, friend, so that you may indicate to me the documents transacted in your office up to the present relevant to this nome, with a view to my carrying out the consequent procedure. Such as have been made known here by (?) the *bibliophylax enkteseon* relating to other nomes up to the present, these have been reported to those whom they concerned; and if any relating to the nome in your charge are handed in even at this late stage, they will be reported to you. Otherwise, be informed that this missive suffices me. (3rd hd.) I pray for your health, my very dear friend. (4th hd.) Year 15 (?) of Imperatores Caesares Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augusti, Pharamouthi 5.

(5th hd.) ... Pachon 20

(Back) To the royal scribe of the Themistes division ...'

1 The reconstruction of this line must begin from the word after βασιλ(ικ). Clearly it was some writing of *γραμματεῦς*. We might consider (a) γρα[ς] ...εως; (b) γραμ[ς] ..εως; (c) γραμματεως. The difficulty with (a) and (b) is, that no nome will fit the traces which follow. There is nothing to suggest -είτου; no trace lies so high as to suggest an abbreviated form. The spacing points to a word-end after -εως. But 'Οάεως will not do, since the letter before εως is almost certainly τ (the cross-bar, and the top of the vertical); and γρα[ς] ματσεως (or β- or κ-), or γραμ[ς] .τεως, lead nowhere. I therefore suggest (c), for want of anything better. Against it at least two objections: the genitive must be assumed to be a mistake; the double μ is cramped, and α following has an anomalous shape with a curved linking stroke at the top. If it is right, we expect a nome-name to follow. The next trace strongly suggests η or ι; it would be possible to read 'Η[ρ]ακλ(είδου) [μερ(ίδος)] or 'Η[ρ]ακλ(είδου) [μερ(ίδος)].

2 The Themistes and Polemo divisions were united under a single strategus as early as A.D. 138. Each had its own royal scribe: last attested for the Polemo division in 208, for the Themistes in 207 (the present document).

The first hand left a blank between γρα(μματεῖ) and τῶ [φιλ(τάτω)]; a second hand added the nome. This suggests a circular letter in several copies, each for a different addressee; and makes it unlikely that the personal name of the addressee stood in line 1.

3 One relevant factor is missing: the name of the tax. The final trace in αριθμ[...].[...]. is too small to

be determining. For the sense I have considered two possibilities. (a) ἀριθμ[ῶ]ν: a tax for military units. I find no parallel to the expression. (b) ἀριθμ[ητ]ικ[οῦ]: a known tax, though expressed in unparalleled form (elsewhere ἀριθμητικόν or the plural without τέλεμα). Against this: either the word was abbreviated (no other abbreviations in the work of the first hand), or the line was exceptionally long.

Otherwise, there are considerable advantages in identifying the tax as ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων. It was owners of catoecic land who paid this tax. They might pay tax in their own nome, and hold land in another (cf. SB 4415); transfers of such land would be authorized by the βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων; and the royal scribe kept the list of owners up-to-date (SB 4415). We could assume that the royal scribe of 3030 wishes to establish whether any inhabitants of his nome have made themselves liable to tax by acquiring catoecic land; any such acquisition within his own nome is notified through the βιβλιοφύλαξ, but for land in other nomes he must appeal to their royal scribes.

We can explain διὰ τετραετηρίδος on the same supposition. It has been deduced from BGU I 342 that ἀριθμητικὸν κατοίκων was levied every fourth year (Wallace, *Taxation* 179): the document is a double receipt, which records payments in 180/1 for 179/80, and in 184/5 for [183/4?]. The deduction can be extended and confirmed. If we list receipts under the year for which payment was due ('tax-year'), as opposed to the year in which payment was made ('payment-year'), we have: 104/5 PFay. 330; 131/2 PTeht. 361; 159/60 SB 8982; 163/4 SPP xxii 135; 171/2 PFamTeht. 39, PMich. IV passim; 179/80 BGU 342, BGU 816; 183/4 [BGU 342]. On the assumption that tax-year is almost always the same as payment-year, we can add: 191/2 SPP xxii 111-13, 144; 195/6 PLond. ii p. 109, 451. All these dates conform exactly to a four-year cycle 131/2, 135/6, 139/40, etc. The only exception is the earliest, PFay. 330, if correctly read: i.e. the beginning of the cycle postdates 104/5. SB 8056, for a year 11, may be assigned to 107/8 or 147/8.

This cycle coincides with that deducible from payments of γεωμετρία in PMich. IV (see PCol. V p. 275, 2847 16 n.); and with the fiscal *lustrum* of PMarmarica, on either possible interpretation (Rea, *Parola del Passato* 112 (1967) 52). PMarm. uses the term πενταετία. διὰ τετραετηρίδος in 3030 presumably refers to the same duration in a different aspect. Does it mean 'every fourth year'? or 'over a period of four years' (i.e. like the γεωμετρία this tax could be paid in instalments up to the year of the next assessment)?

On this scheme, 207/8 would be a tax-year. 3030 was written half-way through 206/7, the year in which the previous cycle terminated (4 λήξαντος). The object was presumably to tidy accounts and determine arrears for the tax-year 203/4, before the new assessment.

6  $\omega \dots \zeta$ : we expect  $\iota \nu \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \varsigma$ .  $\alpha$  before  $\zeta$  is quite possible; but  $\tau$  is excluded, indeed the ink strongly suggests  $\chi$ . Dr. Rea suggests  $\iota \nu$  [ $\acute{\alpha} \zeta$ ]  $\xi \chi \epsilon \iota$ . This gives admirable sense, and suits the traces; but there is not space for [ $\acute{\alpha} \zeta$ ].

8 Perhaps ]  $\acute{\epsilon} \mu \acute{\omicron} \iota$ ; or e.g.  $\tau \alpha \chi \acute{\epsilon} \omega ] \varsigma \mu \omicron \iota$ .

10 Restore [ $\delta \nu \rho \acute{\omicron}$  or [ $\delta \iota \acute{\alpha}$ ?

14 f. ἀρκοῦμενον: the phrase ἀρκοῦμένου μου τῆδε τῆ διαστολῆ is common enough at the end of petitions (most recently PMilVogl. III 170. 15, 180. 30). In W. Chr. 402 Aur. Hermophilus replies to a liturgical assignment (ἐπίσταλμα) from the prytanis with a formal refusal (ἀντεπιστέλλω) and an offer of *cessio bonorum*: ἀρκεσθήσομαι γὰρ τῷδε τῷ ἀντεπιστάματι ἐν μεγίστῳ δικαίωματι (col. i 19 f.). The point is the same in all cases: the present document, that is, suffices in itself to assert the subject's full rights in the situation. So in 3030 Ammonius' letter is his last word, unless further information comes to hand.

16 The restoration seems inevitable, though the lacuna after ἐρρωθεῖαι is enough for at least six letters.

17 (ἔτους)  $\iota \epsilon$ : of  $\epsilon$  the back and most of the cross-bar are missing.  $\theta$  might have been considered; but the expected remains of its right-hand arc are not to be seen.

21 Παχῶ(ν)  $\kappa$ : the main text is dated 31 March (20); this subscription belongs to 15 May; 6 June appears in the further note in the top margin. You might expect 21 to be a record of delivery. But if so the letter took a month and a half to arrive. In any case I cannot reach a satisfactory reading of the rest of the line. δι(ἀ) [ $\acute{\epsilon}$ ]μροθ . . . . αρ ὑπ(ηρέτου) would suit the ink; what intervenes should be an (abbreviated?) proper name. But αρ shows no normal mark of abbreviation.

23 β. . . : βγρ is a possible reading. Perhaps then Ἀμμ[ι]ώνιος β(ασιλικός) γραμματεύς.

3031. OFFICIAL LETTER OF Procurator *Alexandreae*

29 4B.46/G (1-3) a

20.3 × 13.5 cm.

c. A.D. 302

Aurelius Ammonius, the writer of this letter, is otherwise unknown. His title, *procurator Alexandriae*, has appeared in three earlier inscriptions (Pflaum, *Carrières* 1088 f.); none of these gives any clue to the duties of the office, if indeed an established office with defined duties is involved.

The addressee, Annius Diogenes, has occurred in other documents: (1) W. Chr. 186 and SB 4421. 6 (date lost): comarchs of Caranis acknowledge official payment for tunics provided by them (as a military requisition, cf. e.g. PCairoIsid. 54); payment was made under orders of the διασημότατος ἐπίτροπος Ann. Diogenes. (2) PSI 1125 (A.D. 302): a series of letters from Ann. Diogenes (without title) to the strategus of the Arsinoite, concerning the supply and dispatch of something; soldiers and centurions appear as emissaries. PSI 1125 shows that Diogenes held some office in 302; this accords with an unpublished text (inv. 39 5B.120/M (1-2) a), in which he appears alongside the *rationalis* Pomponius Domnus (A.D. 299-300). W. Chr. 186 and 3031 may belong to the same years. (MacMullen, *Aeg.* 38 (1958) 187 n. 1 and 196, dated W. Chr. 186 to c. 285-90; but the argument from price-trends is always treacherous.)

3031 states Diogenes' full title for the first time (and confirms a conjecture of Skeat, PBeattyPanop. p. xvi): *procurator Heptanomiae*. The post was known from 2114 (A.D. 316), where the subject is military supplies. Diogenes similarly deals with military requisitions in W. Chr. 186 and PSI 1125; with a corn-transport (perhaps then with *annona militaris*) in 3031. This evidence does not support (or exclude) the view that this procurator functioned as successor of the epistrategus (Skeat pp. xvi f. points out other difficulties). His duties might be limited (say) to overseeing military supplies in the Heptanomia.

The *procurator Alexandriae* dispatched the corn-transport to his colleague, and presumably took charge of the corn when it arrived. Was his office the same as that of the *procurator ad Mercurium Alexandriae*, who certainly dealt in grain to some degree (2567 9 n.)?

The back is blank, except for the address.

→ Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ἐπίτροπος Ἀλεξανδρείας  
 Ἀννίῳ Διογένει ἐπιτρόπῳ Ἑπτανομίας χαίρειν.  
 πλοῖον σκαφόπρωρον Διδύμου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁξυ-  
 ρυγχείτου οὐ κυβερνήτης Κάνωπος ἀγω-  
 5 γῆς ἀρτ]αβῶν [ἐ]ξακο[σί]ων ἀ[πέστ]εῖλα πρὸς σε  
 ]υρ. . [ ] . . θηναί  
 ] . αι . [ ] . . ην

(m.<sup>2</sup>) ἐρ]ρω̄σθαι εὔχ(ομαι) κύριέ μου  
 ἄδελ]φῆ πολλοῖς χρόνοις  
 ]..[

10

Back, →

Ἄννιῳ Διογ[ένει

'Aurelius Ammonius, Procurator of Alexandria, to Annius Diogenes, Procurator of the Heptanomia, greetings. I have sent off to you a hollow-prowed (?) boat, (property) of Didymus, from the Oxyrhynchite, captain Canopus, capacity six hundred artabas . . . I pray for your health, my lord brother, for many years.'

6 ]..θῆναι: perhaps ]αχθῆναι.

## 3032. PUBLICATION OF OFFICIAL LETTERS

A. B.32/A (6)

16 × 17.5 cm.

A.D. 218/19 or 222/3

This fragment contains the beginning of a covering note, in which the strategus Aurelius Harpocraton introduces letters from two higher officials. Copies of the letters will have been attached. Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 125 ff., discusses this function of the strategus. PHarris 62 takes the same form.

The hand is a large and careful one of chancery type; the general effect is much like that of 2227 (*Aegyptus* 45 (1965) pl. 5), but without the tall bipartite *epsilon*. The back is blank.

There is one point of interest: the procurator πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεις, for whom see 3046 introduction.

α

→ παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἀρποκρατίωνος  
 στρατηγο[ῦ] Ὀξυρυγχείτου.  
 ἀ]γτίγραφον ἐπι[σ]τολῶν τῶν  
 κρατίστων τοῦ τε διοικητοῦ  
 5 καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεις  
 τῶν ἀπὸ Τῦβι α ἕως  
 Φαρμο[ῦθι] . . .] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος  
 β (ἕτους) τ[οῦ] κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτο-  
 ρος c. 15 ]..[.

2 οξυρυγ'χ-

'From Aurelius Harpocraton, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite. A copy of letters from their excellencies the dioecetes and the procurator for surveys, from Tybi 1 to Pharmouthi [30] of the present 2nd year of our lord the emperor . . .'

Upper margin. α: a column number? α] would mean ἀ(γτίγραφον), but I see no trace of the abbreviation stroke (admittedly, the surface is much damaged).

6 f. Perhaps the four months Tybi 1 to Pharmouthi 30 (the second third of the regnal year).

8 β (ἕτους): the reading is almost certain (the upper part of an open-topped cursive beta). The choice of emperor depends on the dating of the strategus Aur. Harpocraton. He is already in office in 1283, of 25 June/28 Aug. 219; still in office in 2348 52, of 12 Sept. 224. There is no reason to think that his term was interrupted (Mertens, *CdÉ* 31 (1956) 351). The nearest predecessor is ]oc (*Archiv* 7. 223); the composite document in whose heading he appears contains dates of 218 and of 2 Jan. 219. The nearest successor is Aur. Antyllus, attested for 13 June 225 (2566 ii 1: the restoration Ἀν[τύλλ]ος, and the dating, are now guaranteed by XLIII 3103 of April/May 226. Within these limits two dates are possible for our document: 2 Elagabalus, A.D. 218/19; or 2 Alex. Severus, 222/3. The tiny traces in line 9 do not allow a decision.

## 3033. PETITION TO PREFECT

27 3B.43/B (1-2) b

13.5 × 12 cm.

c. 45/7

This petition is probably a draft, to judge from the interlinear additions in lines 4 and 9 f. The back has been reused for various pieces of writing. Along the fibres, in large formal letters: ΠΤΟΛΛΙΩΝΟC. Across the fibres are two texts in parallel columns, and a third upside-down in relation to them. The best-preserved appears to be an unfinished petition or application: ] . . . ωι<sup>2</sup> παρὰ Θέωνο(ς) τοῦ<sup>3</sup> Πτολλίω(νος)· ὁ υἱός μου<sup>4</sup> Πτολλίω(ν) ἀφήλικος ποιμ(ενικῆς?) vac.

Thaesis addresses her petition to the prefect C. Julius Postumus. She alleges that she and her elder son are being forced into slavery, and refers to an earlier petition made to the ex-prefect Marcus Heius.

Heius is new. His prefecture fits conveniently between those of L. Aemilius Rectus (last attested on 29 April 42) and of Julius Postumus himself (first attested on 8 August 45). The name was made available to Prof. Reinmuth for his new list of prefects, *BASP* 4 (1967) 80.

The transcript omits lines 8-10, of which only the first few letters are legible; and a joining fragment with nine further line-beginnings.

→ Γαίωι Ἰουλίω Ποστόμωι [ ]  
 παρὰ Θαήσιος τῆς Ὠρου τῶν ἀπὸ τῆ[ ]  
 Μικρᾶς Ὀάσεως. ἀγομένης μου σὺν τῶι [πρε-  
 βυτέρω μου υἱῶι Φιλαδέλφωι] εἰς δουλαγωγίαν ὑπὸ .[. . . .  
 5 τοῦ Σεύθου καὶ τῶν τούτου ἀδελφῶν ἐ[γένε]-  
 χον Μάρκωι Εἴωι τῶ ἡγεμονεύ[σαντι  
 ἐπὶ διαλογισμοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ] . . . . .[. . . . .

C 8788

H



It is clear then that our text comes more than a year before legal measures were taken against the Christians; and further that Petosorapis is unlikely to have belonged to the distinguished groups which were eventually attacked. This is not to say that for particular times, places, and persons, Christian practices may not have drawn the hostile attention of the authorities. But we can deduce nothing of that from our document; even the rare intervention of the prytanis does not guarantee an exceptional situation.

On the face of it, then, 'Christian' may be no more than an individuating description: similarly other such orders specify the profession, as in 2576 *πέμψον Έρωτα οἱ[ν]έμ-πορον*. But the document still has considerable interest. It is, with PSI 1412 (see 4-5 n.), by far the earliest use of the word 'Christian' in the papyrus documents; and it suggests that Petosorapis (who like many early Christians will have found no difficulty in his theophoric name) did not conceal his religion and indeed could be identified by it among the inhabitants of Mermertha.

← π(αρά) τοῦ πρυτάνεως  
κωμάρχαις καὶ ἐπιστάταις εἰρήνης  
κώμης Μερμέρθων. ἔξαιτης ἀνα-  
πέμψατε Πετοσοράπην ὄρου χρησι-  
5 ανόν, ἢ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀνέλθατε.  
(ἔτους) γ' Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ Γαλλιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν  
Φαμενώθ γ̄.

1 π' 2 ἐπιστάταις corr. from ἐπιστάτη

'From the prytanis, to the comarchs and supervisors of the peace of the village of Mermertha. Send up immediately Petosorapis son of Horus, Christian (?), or else come up yourselves. Year 3 of Valerianus and Gallienus Augusti, Phamenoth 3.'

4-5 *χρησιανόν*: I can only interpret this as *χρησ<τ>ιανόν*, 'Christian' (the form in -η- is of course normal, see Blass-Debrunner *NTGramm.* § 24). The spelling without *tau* recurs in PSI 1412. 10, as restored by Dr. Rea (2785 2 note): *διεπ]εμψάμην κοι δι<α> Σωτοῦ τοῦ χρησι[νοῦ] τάλαντα δύο*. This is probably a phonetic spelling, cf. e.g. SB 4284. 7 *πλεί<τ>ων*; Dr. Gignac was able to cite eight third-century examples of this sort of assimilation. A parallel phenomenon is the variation between -cc- and -cτ-, of which examples are given in PPetaus 10. 6 note: hence perhaps *crissana* and *cressiani* in Latin inscriptions (Diehl, *ILCV* 1330, 1337).

## 3036-3045. RECEIPTS FOR ἐπι κεφάλαιον

These ten documents more than double the material bearing on the ἐπι κεφάλαιον πόλεως, without solving its problems. For a general account, see the introduction to 2578-9. The receipts may be set out chronologically as follows:

	<i>date</i>	<i>payment for</i>	<i>amount</i>	<i>no. of persons</i>	<i>signatory</i>
(1)	3036	24.2.298	297/8?	1,200	1
(2)	3037	4.3.298	297/8?	1,200	1
				1,200	1
(3)	3038	4.3.298	297/8	1,200	1
(4)	2578	30.3.298	296/7	2,400	2
(5)	3039	29.5.298	296/7	1,200	1
(6)	3040	17.12.298	296/7	1,300	1
(7)	3041	June 299	297/8?	1,200	1
(8)	3142	26.7.301	300/1	1,200	1
(9)	PSI 163	301/2		1,200	1
(10)	PSI 780	20.7.305	303/4	400	1
			304/5	1,200	
(11)	PSI 302		308/9	doubtful <sup>1</sup>	
(12)	3042	308/9?	308/9?	1,600	1
		310/11?	310/11?		
(13)	3043	3.9.311	311/12?	3,200	2
(14)	2579	4.8.313	312/13	1,600	2
		(311?)	(310/11?)		
(15)	3044		312/13	2,400	1
(16)	PSI 462	20.8.314	314/15	2,400	1
(17)	3045	314/15	315/16	2,400	1

The increased evidence still attests no year of this tax earlier than 296/7, and no city other than Oxyrhynchus. Most payments are of 1,200 dr. or its multiples; but there is no obvious pattern to the divergences. All the receipts except (8) have signatures (no. 11 is probably damaged); and of these all except (15) have signatures

<sup>1</sup> See 3142 12 note. If the view there taken is correct, the receipt is unfinished or broken: the sum (and perhaps a signatory) came later.

in the same hand as the text—the documents, that is, must be either copies of the originals, or holographs of the issuing officials. (2) and (7) contain two receipts on the one sheet; (1), (5), (8), (10), (12), and (17) leave space blank for a second receipt.

The systates is the most frequent signatory. (1)–(3) and (7) are issued by Sarapion, (4)–(6) by Didymus. Sarapion signs both in 298 and in June 299; if then it is the same Sarapion, we can conclude that the systates continued to be responsible for payments for his own year as they came in later: Sarapion apparently for 297/8 (3036 2 n.).

On two points the diplomatic changes in the later receipts. The trade of the payer is certainly specified in (7), (8), (12), (14), (15), and (17), and probably in (13); this may connect with payment through a guild (2578–9 introd.). A second difference is the mention of 'orders' under which the payment was made. (8), and (10) to (16) inclusive, cite orders, either with specification of the official or else (8, 16) orders unspecified. The officials cited are the prefect (8, 10, 12, 13), the catholicus (11), a *διασημότατος* (14, ? 15). Were the orders for the imposition of the tax, or for its amount? Do we deduce that in this period (A.D. 301–14) the levy was specifically renewed each year?

## 3036

28 4B.58/B (6–8) a

7.2 × 24.5 cm.

24 February 298

→ *διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου*  
*πόλεως τοῦ διελθόντος*  
*(ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ ιγ" καὶ ς"*  
*τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν*  
 5 *Διοκλητ[ιανο]ῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ*  
*σεβαστ[ῶν] καὶ Κωνσταντί[ου]*  
*καὶ Μαξιμιανῶ τῶν ἐπιφα-*  
*νεστάτων καيسάρων*  
*ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος Κορνηλίου*  
 10 *Καρπουγγίου δραχμὰς*  
*χιλίας διακοσίας γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄς.*  
*(ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ (ἔτους) ς"*  
*Μεχέιρ λ<sup>τ</sup>.*  
*Σαραπίων συστάτη(ς)*  
 15 *σεση(μείωμαι).*  
*(m.<sup>2</sup>) παρ οριου*  
*Back ↓ (m.<sup>3</sup>) ἀποχαί*  
 18 → *(m.<sup>4</sup>) .....ωνος*  
*καὶ Σαραπίωνος*

1, 9 ὑπερ 10 1. Καλπουρνίου 14 συστατῆ 15 σεση<sup>τ</sup>

'There was paid for capitation tax of the city, for the past 14th and 13th and 6th year of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and Constantius and Maximianus the most illustrious Caesars, in the name of Cornelius Calpurnius, one thousand two hundred drachmas, making 1,200 dr. Year 14 and year 13 and year 6, Mecheir 30.

I, Sarapion the systates, have signed.

From Horius (?).

(Back) Receipts

..... and of Sarapion.'

2 f. Either *διελθόντος* is a mistake for *ἐνεστῶτος*; or else the numerals in 3 are a mistake for *ιγ ιβ ε*. The same choice in 3037 2 f. 3038, dated the same day as 3037 and signed by the same systates as both 3036 and 3037, has *ἐνεστῶτος*. If we assume that each systates was responsible for one year's receipts, we must choose to emend *διελθόντος*, for the year 13–12–5 belonged to Didymus and not to Sarapion (2578, 3039–40).

16 The scribe left a gap between *παρ* and *οριου*; the gap is not fully explained by a deep crease in the papyrus. But *παρ' ορίου* or *ὀρ<ρ>ίου* seems to lead nowhere. Perhaps *παρ' Ὀρίου*: the agent who paid for Cornelius. If (despite the gap) *παρορίου* was intended, the meaning would presumably be 'on the outskirts of the city' (PMerton 34. 11 n.).

17 *ἀποχαί*: the same docket 3037 36, there justified because the sheet contains two receipts. Perhaps the writer intended to add a second on the lower half of 3036, which is in fact occupied only by *παρ' Ὀρίου*.

## 3037

29 4B.56/C (8–9) b

6.7 × 23.8 cm.

4 March 298

→ *διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου*  
*πόλεως τοῦ διελθόντος*  
*(ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ (ἔτους) ς"*  
*τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν*  
 5 *Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ*  
*Μαξιμιανῶ σεβαστῶν*  
*καὶ Κωνσταντίου*  
*κα[ὶ] Μαξιμιανῶ τῶν*  
*ἐπιφανεστάτων και-*  
 10 *σάρων ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος*  
*Παύλου Διονυσίου*  
*δραχμὰς χιλίας*  
*διακοσίας γ(ίν.) (δρ.) Ἄς.*  
*(ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ (ἔτους) ς"*  
 15 *Φαμενῶθ η'.*

Cαραπίων κυστάτης  
 cesη(μείωμαι).  
 καὶ ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος  
 Ἀγτινίου Εὐδαί-  
 20 μο]νος τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 (ἔτους) ιδ" [κα]ῖ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ  
 (ἔτους) ς" τῶν κυρίων  
 ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ  
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ σεβαστῶ(ν)  
 25 καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ  
 Μαξ]ιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφα-  
 νεστάτων καισάρων  
 ὑπὲρ ὀνόματος  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ δραχμὰς  
 30 χιλίας διακοσίας  
 γ(ίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄς.  
 (ἔτους) ιδ" καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ"  
 καὶ (ἔτους) ς" Φαμενώθ η'.  
 Cαραπίων  
 35 cesη(μείωμαι).  
 Back ↓ ἀποχαί

10, 18, 28 ὑπερ 17, 35 cesη<sup>+</sup> 17 at the end, two pen-trials 24 σεβαστῶ

2 διελθόντος must be a mistake for ἐνεστῶτος, as at 3036 2 f.

35 If 34 is correctly read, and 34 and 35 are aligned, there is no space in 35 for κυστάτης, even in abbreviation.

## 3038

29 4B.56/C (8-9) c

5.3 × 18 cm.

4 March 298

→ διεγρᾶφη ὑπὲρ ἐπι[κ]εφα-  
 λαίου πόλεως τοῦ  
 ἐνεστῶτος (ἔτους) ιδ"  
 καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ" καὶ (ἔτους) ς"  
 5 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶ(ν)

Διοκλητιανοῦ  
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ  
 σεβαστῶν καὶ  
 Κωνσταντίου  
 10 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ  
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτω(ν)  
 καισάρων ὑπὲρ  
 ὀνόματος Κοπρέ-  
 ως ἐπικ(λην) Χοοῦς  
 15 Φιλίσκου δρα-  
 χμὰς χιλίας  
 διακοσίας (γίν.) (δρ.) Ἄς.  
 (ἔτους) ιδ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιγ'  
 καὶ (ἔτους) ς"  
 20 Φαμενώθ η'.  
 Cαραπίων  
 κυστάτης  
 cesη(μείωμαι).  
 Back ↓ [...].αι . . . . [  
 5 ημῶ 11 ἐπιφανεστατῶ 12 ὑπερ 14 Οἱ ἐπικ(αλουμένου) 23 cesη<sup>-</sup>

24 Possibly ἀπο]χαί κεφαλ[αίου. But the second word forces the traces.

## 3039

28 4B.60/B (1-3) a

8 × 21.3 cm.

29 May 298

→ διεγρᾶφη ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικεφαλ[αίου  
 τοῦ διελθ[ό]ντος <ἔτους> ιγ' καὶ [ιβ'  
 καὶ ε' τῶν κυρίων ἡ[μῶν  
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ  
 5 Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ  
 Κωνσταντίου καὶ  
 Μαξιμιανοῦ σεβαστῶν  
 ὀνόμ(ατος) Ἰνουβίωτος Ἀφν[γ-



χίου δραχμὰς χιλίας  
 10 διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄς.  
 (ἔτους) ιδ' καὶ ιγ' καὶ σ"  
 Παῦνι δ'. Δίδυμος κυστά-  
 της σεσημῶμαι.

1 υς 8 ονο<sup>μ</sup> 12 παῦνι The lower half of the sheet, and the back, are blank

## 3040

28 4B.62/B (5-7) c

7.3 × 7 cm.

17 December 298

→ διεγρᾶφη ὑ(πὲρ) ἐπικεφαλαίου  
 τοῦ διελθόντος ιγ' καὶ ιβ' κ[αὶ] ε'  
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανοῦ  
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Κωνσταν-  
 5 τίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ σεβα-  
 στῶν ὀ[ν]όματος Ἄριον δραχμὰς  
 χιλία[ς] τριακοσίας (δρ.) Ἄτ.  
 (ἔτους) ιε' καὶ ιδ' καὶ ζ' Χοιὰκ κ̅α̅.  
 Δίδυ[μο]ς κυστάτης δι' ἐμοῦ  
 10 Ἐπι[μ]άχου σεσημῶμαι.

ακυρ.....ος τῆς προ-  
 τέρας ἀποχῆς.

1 ι. επικεφ- Back: blank

2 ιβ' seems clear; the two damaged numerals are read on this basis. The payment therefore must be for the last year but one, A.D. 296/7. The original receipt (11 f.) had presumably been lost. 3040 is the replacement; and, though issued in 298/9 (l. 8), retains διελθόντος from the original wording (Rea).

11 Perhaps ἀκύρην ὀ[ν]ότος, l. οὐσης.

## 3041

28 4B.60/C (13-15) a

8.5 × 14 cm.

14/23 June 299

→ (ἔτους) ι[ ]' καὶ (ἔτους) ι." [κ]αὶ [(ἔτους).]" [. . . . .]ριων  
 ἡμῶν Διοκλητια[νοῦ] καὶ  
 Μ[α]ξιμιανοῦ [σεβαστ]ῶν καὶ  
 Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν  
 5 ἐπιφανεστάτων καισάρων ὑπὲρ  
 ἐπικεφαλαίου π[όλ]εως ὀνόματος  
 Σεβανοῦ πραγμα[τ]ευτοῦ δραχμὰς  
 χειλίας διακοσίας (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄς.  
 (ἔτους) ιε" καὶ (ἔτους) ιδ" κ[αὶ] (ἔτους) ζ"  
 10 Παῦνι κ[.].  
 Σαραπίων σε[ε]η(μείωμαι).

5 ὑπερ 10 παῦνι 11 σε[ε]η Back: blank

1 Before this we should expect a line of the form διεγρᾶφη ὑπὲρ τοῦ διελθόντος. But the surface, where preserved, shows no trace of ink. The space available after the numerals in 1 is too long for τῶν κυρίων alone: perhaps τ[ῶν] αὐτῶν κυρίων. Both considerations suggest that we have only the lower part of a double receipt.

The date is difficult. In 9 ιδ is certain, and the other two numerals can be read to conform. In 11 nothing much survives except the ι of the first and second numeral. If the systatai were responsible for the arrears of their year, even after leaving office, and if this Sarapion is the same as in 3036-8, restore L ι[δ]" καὶ L ιγ" καὶ [L σ]".

## 3042

28 4B.60/C (20-1) a

7.3 × 26.3 cm.

308/9 or 310/11

→ διεγρᾶφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλαίου  
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε' καὶ γ (ἔτους)  
 Φαῶφι δ' ἀκολούθως  
 τοῖς κελευσθ(εῖσι) ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 5 διαση(μοτάτου) ἡγεμόνος  
 Ζακάων Λουκίου  
 ὀνηλάτης ἀργυρίου δρα-  
 χμὰς χειλίας ἑξακοσίας  
 (γίνονται) (δρ.) Ἄχ.  
 10 Μωρίων σεση(μείωμαι).

4 κελυ<sup>9</sup> 5 διαση<sup>-</sup> 6 l. Ζακάνων 7 l. δηλάτου 10 cesη<sup>-</sup> Lower part of sheet (18 cm.), and back, blank

2 The '5th and 3rd' year might be 308/9 (Maximinus and Constantine, ignoring Galerius), or 310/11 (Constantine and Licinius, ignoring Galerius and Maximinus). 2579 3 note.

## 3043

39 3B.76/F (1-2) a

12.2 × 12.2 cm.

3 September 311

→ διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλίου πόλεως ἀκο[λ]ούθος τοῖς κελυσι<sup>9</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος ὀνόματος Ἀντίωνος καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει

5 καὶ Ἀμμώνιος υἱὸς ἰ[.]ριστηαῖ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς [[χιλιας]] τριχιλίας διακοσίας γίνονται (δρ.) ᾽Γς. (ἔτους) κ" καὶ η" Θὼθ ε'.

Ἀϋ[ρ]ήλιος Ἀφοῦς καὶ τῶν κωνωνῶν cesημῖωμα.

1 ὑπερ 1. -κεφαλαίου 2 l. ἀκούθως, κελυσι<sup>9</sup> 3 l. ἡγεμόνος on- corr. from ων-  
4 l. Ἀντιόνου 5 l. Ἀμμωνίου υἱοῦ 8 l. οἱ κοινωνοὶ Back: blank

5 ἰ[.]ριστηαῖ: a has been corrected from ι; the preceding letters are certain. This should specify the trade. The initial trace is the left end of a high horizontal, e.g. τ. Apparently not χ[ε]ριστηαῖ.

## 3044

35 4B.71/B (1-3) b

12.5 × 13 cm.

312/13, 313/14

→ τος αἰνάτου .τ. .[.] ἐβδό-  
μου (ἔτους) θ καὶ ζ (m.2) καὶ ε  
(m.1) ὑπὸ τοῖς κελυσι<sup>9</sup> ὀνό-  
ματος Παύλου Ἡρακλέου

5 ταπητᾶ ἀργυρίου  
τραχμὰ δειχειλεία  
τετρακοσία γίνονται ᾽Β (δρ.) υ.  
(m.2) ᾽Ηλίας καὶ ὁ κωνωνοὶ cesη-  
μείωμα.

10 (m.3) διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλίου  
ὑπὲρ ἔτους (ἔτους) η' καὶ ζ"  
(m.4) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικι[νν]ίου σεβαστῶ(ν)  
(m.5) ἀκούθως[τ]οῖς κελυσι<sup>9</sup> δι. . . ρ. . .  
].[.....]. Παύλου[.....].[.].[.].[.].

1 l. ἐνάτου 3 l. κελ- 4 l. Παύλου 6-7 l. δραχμὰς διχιλίας τετρακοσίας 7 ᾽Βςυ  
8 l. οἱ κοινωνοὶ 9 l. -μείωμα οτ -μείωμε(θα) 10 ὑπερ 1. -λαίου 11 ὑπερ ετους L ἡ  
Back Blank

'... ninth ... seventh ... year 9 and 7 (2nd hd.) and 5 (1st hd.) under the orders in the name of Paulus son of Heraclius, carpet-man, two thousand four hundred drachmas of silver, making 2,400 dr. (2nd hd.) I Elias and my colleagues have signed.

(3rd hd.) There was paid for the capitation tax, for the year 8 and 6 (4th hd.) of our lords Constantine and Licinius Augusti, (5th hd.) in accordance with the orders ...'

1-2 The year is 312/13; the receipt for the next year (line 11) follows on the same sheet. Presumably we should restore ἐνετῶ[τος] (rather than διελθόν[τος] or εἰσόν[τος]) at the beginning of line 1. After αἰνάτου the traces allow ἔτος [καὶ], but not ἔτους[ς].

4-5 The same payer in 3045 (for 315/16).

8 Here, as in 3045, the receiving officers form a κοινόν. But who were they? Cf. 2855 1; 3137 1.

13-14 Reconstruction has to rest on two premisses, neither certain: that κελυσι<sup>9</sup> was so written in full; and that Παύλου is a correct reading. Before the putative π is a small high loop, i.e. perhaps ὑπερ[ρ] (though one might expect the shaft of rho to show) or ὀνό(ματος); and if that is right, we expect the end of 13 and the beginning of 14 to contain the title and perhaps the name of an official; but if so ὑπὸ τοῦ must be missing, and what follows must be taken as δι(α)σημοτ(α)ρον. Alternatively the payment might have been made through someone: but δια was not written (most like διη. ρτου).

## 3045

28 4B.62/B (4) a

13.3 × 26 cm.

314/15

→ διεγράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικαιφα-  
λίου τοῦ ἰσίωντος (ἔτους) ι" καὶ (ἔτους) η'  
Παῦλις Ἡρακλήου ταπητᾶς  
ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς διχι-  
5 λίας τετρακοσίας (δρ.) ᾽Βυ.  
Ἀϋρήλιος Πολιτικός καὶ ὁ κωνωνοὶ cesημῖωμεθα.

1 ὑπερ 1. επικεφ- 2 ἰσιον- 6 f. l. οἱ κοινωνοὶ Heavy kollesis to left. Lower part of sheet (19 cm.), and back, blank

3 The same man, in the spelling Παύλου Ἡρακλέου, in 3044 4.  
6 f. ὁ κωνωνοὶ: 3044 8 note.

### III. DOCUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF PHILIPPUS ARABS

#### 3046-3050. DOCUMENTS OF THE REIGN OF PHILIPPUS ARABS

These five documents are grouped together, because they supplement the material collected in *JRS* 57 (1967) 134 ff. It was suggested, on the basis of the older evidence, that Egypt underwent a wide administrative reform in the reign of Philippus Arabs: the object was to counter declining productivity; measures were taken in at least three sectors (agriculture, liturgies, taxation and the *annona*); some at least of these measures were taken by an extraordinary commission, consisting of the *rationalis* Claudius Marcellus and his assistant procurator Salutaris. Of the new material:

**3048** illustrates the decline in production: corn was so short in March 246 that the state resorted to compulsory purchase. Similar *στενοχωρία* was already attested for October 248 (PErl. 18, cf. 2854).

**3050** includes another proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris: the subject was apparently the restoration of correct boundaries of plots. Here, as in **78** and PLeit. 16, the commission shows its concern for accurate land-records.

**3046**, **3047**, and **970** (for which **3046** now provides a date) are returns of un-irrigated and artificially irrigated land. This traditional operation again helped to bring some realism into registers of land and the tax due upon it. A general survey of the same kind took place in the Great Oasis, under orders of Marcellus and Salutaris: *Bodl. Gr. Inscr.* 3018 (now published in *JEA* 57 (1971) 165). Two of the new pieces (**970** and **3046**) refer to the orders of a special official, *ὁ πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεω*.

**3049** provides the earliest mention of decaproti in Oxyrhynchus, and gives a little support to the view that the office was a new creation of the Philippan reform. Decaproti also figure in **3050**, where (as in PLeit. 16) they concern themselves with amending the land-register.

**2664** 15 suggests that the office of phylarch was introduced as part of the same reform. Dr. A. K. Bowman has deduced a related change in the structure of liturgical tribes: see *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 150.

#### 3046. RETURN OF UNINUNDATED AND ARTIFICIALLY IRRIGATED LAND

20 3B.31/E (1-5) c

6.8 × 21 cm.

244/5

This return belongs to a well-attested type: see the list by C. Préaux, *CdÉ* 38 (1963) 120 f.; add BGU 2022-3, **3047**. Its main interest is the official whose orders are cited: Aurelius Antoninus *ὁ κράτιστος πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεω*. Antoninus has already

appeared in **970**, an *ἀπογραφή* of unknown content and date, in which his title was uncertainly read; this return can now be restored and dated.

Before A.D. 197 returns of uninundated land invariably cite the orders of the prefect: Préaux, loc. cit. 127. After that date, practice varies:

BGU 2023 (198/201) orders of the procurator Publ. Cerealis

BGU 2022 (202) orders (official not specified)

BGU 139 (202) orders of the prefect

PHamb. 11 etc. (Préaux, loc. cit. 120) (202) orders of the procurator Cl. Diognetus

PFamTebt. 51 (206) no orders mentioned

PFamTebt. 52 (208) orders (official not specified)

PTebt. 324 (208) orders of the prefect Subatianus Aquila

**1459** (226) orders of the prefects and ex-epistrategus

**1549** (240) no orders mentioned

**3046** (244/5) and **970** orders of the *πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεω* Aur. Antoninus

**3047** (245) no orders mentioned.

In this sector, as in others, the Severan reorganization clearly introduced an elaboration of bureaucracy, with the delegation of special problems to special officials. It is even possible that the office *πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεω* was created under Severus, and existed as a continuous appointment. (Cf. A. Stein, *Charisteria Rzach* (1930), 178.) But the evidence is insufficient: (a) the office as such is attested for c. 220 (**3032**), 223 (PSI 1066), 232 (*W. Chr.* 41 iii 14), and 244/5 (**3046**, **970**); (b) three earlier procurators, whose title specifies no particular department, might, from their functions, have held this office: Publius Cerealis (c. 198/201: *W. Chr.* 235, BGU 2023), Clau. Diognetus (202/4),<sup>1</sup> Clau. Alexander (206-7 and 208-9: *W. Chr.* 235). And the variations of authority cited in the returns perhaps suggest *ad hoc* arrangements.

There is some evidence that such returns were (or might be) submitted annually, not only in years of defective flood (PMich. VI pp. 9 f.). The practice apparently lapsed in the chaos of the later third century: **3046-7** and **970** are the last known returns of this type.

**3046**, **3047**, and **970** form a group not only in date, but also in a diplomatic feature: all three are docketed on the back with the name of the village to which they refer. In both **3046** and **970** the declarant is an Antinoite.

→ κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Πα]κερκῆ  
παρὰ Αὐρη]λ(ίου) Καρπίωνος  
Ἡρα[κ]λείδου τοῦ καὶ Πα-  
νάρου ἀγορανομῆ[αντ(ος)  
5 τῆς Ἀντινοέων πόλεως.

<sup>1</sup> The view that he was *proc. usiacus* has very slight foundations: *JRS* 57 (1967) 139 n. 53.



figure is deemed to apply to the first reign which will accommodate it, reckoning in reverse chronological order from A.D. 244/5.<sup>1</sup> The scribe saw no ambiguities in this system, except for the remote years of Tiberius, which are therefore particularized. Thus:

Dates of registration α	(Philip) 244
β	(Philip) 244/5? (Gordian III) 238/9? (if the former, the registration was made in the six months between the beginning of the year and the date of 3047)
γ	(Gordian III) 239/40

Some year-numbers stand by themselves, with no participle attached; all these are α; no doubt they refer to registration in 244.

Dates of purchase:

line 10	γ	(Gordian III) 239/40
lines 21 f.	ιβ θ	(Alexander Severus) 232/3 and 229/30
lines 25 f.	κγ β	
	κ ιθ	(see note on 25)
lines 30 f.	ιε κθ	
	λ	(Septimius Severus) 206/7 (Commodus) 188/9 (presumably Commodus, rather than Augustus; perhaps years within one reign go in normal chronological order) 189/90
	ιβ θ	Tiberius 25/6 (Tiberius) 22/3
line 33	ιγ	(Alexander Severus) 233/4
line 35	γ δ	(Gordian III) 239/40 (Gordian III, 240/1, with the years again in normal order? or Maximinus, 237/8?)

This table illustrates the growth of a holding over two and a half centuries: purchases of catocic and cleruchic land under Tiberius; then nothing until Commodus.

The owner of the land, Calpurnia Heraclia, must have been a rich woman. The part of her property declared here amounts to some 1,700 ar.; 3048 (March 246) shows that she owned considerable deposits of grain in the lower and eastern toparchies, and employed *πραγματευταί* and *φροντισταί* to look after them. Her father had been

<sup>1</sup> A similar set of unspecified years was tentatively postulated for PMarmarica by Dr. Rea (*Par. del Passato*, 1967, p. 52).

a Fellow of the Museum. One of her guardians had been prytanis of Oxyrhynchus (3048 13). No doubt this was a family of Alexandrian notables.

I am much indebted to Professor Youtie for his help with this text.

λς

→ κωμογρ(αμματεῖ) Φοβίου καὶ ἄλλ(ων) κω(μῶν) τῆς πρὸς ἀπηλ(ιώτην) τοπ(αρχίας)  
παρὰ Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας τῆς καὶ Εὐδαμίας θυγατρὸς [Καλπουρ-  
νίου Θεώνος τῶν ἐν Μουσειῷ χειτηθέντων διὰ Αὐρηλίου [Ἰέρακος  
γραμματέως· ἀπογράφομαι πρὸς τὸ ἐνεστὸς β (ἔτος) ἦν ἔχω περὶ Θμ[ουνακωμ( )  
5 ἀγνοτο{το}μήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτ[ο]ν  
ἰδιωτ(ικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρούρας) σεΛῖς ἐπηντλ(ημένης) α  
(ἔτους) (ἀρ.) ιγῖ' ις' γ(ίνονται) ἀβ(ρόχου) καὶ  
ἐπη(ντλημένης) ἀν(αγραφείσαι) α (ἔτους)  
(ἀρ.) κηθ' ὑπολ[ό]γου ἐνφόρου ἐν τάξει τῶν παρ. .ια[. .]. σκεπομένων  
εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου ἀν(αγραφείσας) β (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) (ἦμιεν)  
Θμουεψώβθεως ἀγνοτομήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιαν[οῦ  
10 καὶ Τίτου βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφείσας) γ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) δγ' ἰδιω(τικῆς)  
α (ἔτους) ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἐκκεκομμ(εν ) ἀβρόχ(ου)  
(ἀρ.) υξ̄αδλβξδ εἰ[π]ηντλ(ημένης) ὁμοί(ως) α (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κς (μοναρτάβου)  
ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀ(πό) τοῦ οἴκου  
ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ρξθ' ἐπηντλ(ημένης) ὁμοί(ως) εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς (ἀρ.) σπηῖς καὶ εἰς  
Διόδωρον τὸν καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) (μοναρτάβου) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.)  
θηξδρκη ἀλ(λης) ὠνη(μένης) . .  
ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ καὶ εἰς Ἀντίοχον Καραπίωνος τοῦ Ἐξακῶντος διὰ  
15 τῶν υἱῶν (μοναρτάβου) [ἀ]βρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) εθῖ' ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) ι γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.)  
ιεθῖ' γ(ίνονται) κώμ(ης) βασιλ(ικῆς)  
ἀν(αγραφείσαι) γ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δγ' ἰδιω(τικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.)  
υξ̄αδλβξδ (μοναρτάβου) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ρλθξδρκε[η]  
γ(ίνονται) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) χβδθξδρκη ἐπη(ντλημένης) α (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κς  
(μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) σπηῖς γ(ίνονται) ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) τςῖθ'  
Cχοίβεως ἐκ τοῦ Πολυνείκου σὺν τῷ Μαινίσκου καὶ [. . .  
ταίου καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγνοτομήτου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐ[εσπασιανοῦ  
20 καὶ Τίτου ἰδιω(τικῆς) α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομμ(εν ) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ε κατοικ(ικῆς)  
ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) κδ  
ἐπηντλ(ημένης) (ἀρ.) κς γ(ίνονται) (ἀρ.) να ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) δ  
ιβ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως (ἀρ.) [ε

θ (ἔτους) ὁμοίως (ἀρ.) ε γίνονται ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ἰδ βασιλ(ικῆς) ... ( ) γίξ  
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι γίνονται κλ(ήρων) βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γίξ  
 ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι <ἰδιω(τικῆς)> α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ε (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου)  
 (ἀρ.) λη ἐπη(ντλημένης) (μοναρτάβου) (ἀρ.) κξ  
 καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἐπικράτους κλήρου εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν  
 25 Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου ὠνη(μένης) κγ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) κ β (ἔτους) Τιβερίου  
 ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρ.) ς  
 κ (ἔτους) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρ.) δ ιθ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) κς γίνονται ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) νς κατοικ  
 κ(ικῆς) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ξς ϰητς ἐπη(ντλημένης)  
 (ἀρ.) νγλξ γίνονται (ἀρ.) ρκ γίνονται κλ(ήρου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρκβ ϰητς  
 ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) νγλξ  
 γίνονται κώμ(ης) βασιλ(ικῆς) ἀν(αγραφεῖσαι) γίξ ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι  
 <ἰδιωτικῆς> α (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ε  
 (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρξ ϰητς  
 γίνονται ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ροε ϰητς ἐπη(ντλημένης) (μοναρτάβου) πλξ  
 30 Ὀσοροννώφριος κατ(ικῆς) ἐκ τοῦ Μηνοδώρου ἰδι[ω(τικῆς)] (μοναρτάβου) ὠνη(μένης)  
 ιε (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου)  
 (ἀρ.) ιε κθ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ι λ (ἔτους) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) κε ιβ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου  
 ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) η θ (ἔτους) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ς  
 γίνονται (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) νς ἐπη(ντλημένης) (ἀρ.) η α (ἔτους) ἀπὸ  
 ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ε (διαρτάβου) μεμικθ(ωμεν ) εἰς τὰ  
 πάτρια τῶ νγ (ἔτει) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) θ τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντά μοι μέρη  
 Τυχιννεκώτεως ἐκ τοῦ κάτω περιχώματος εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 35 οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου ὠνη(μένης) γ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.) λε δ (ἔτους) (ἀρ.)  
 λα γίνονται ἀβ(ρόχου) α ... ( )  
 κλη( ) (ἀρ.) ξς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου περιχώματος καὶ τῶν (πρότερον)  
 Ἀρτεμιδώρου δωρεᾶς εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου θεῶν Οὐεσπ(ασιανοῦ)  
 καὶ Τίτου κατοικ(ικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ν ὠνη(μένης) ἀβρόχ(ου) (ἀρ.) ριδ γίνονται  
 (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρ.) ρξδ  
 (διαρτάβου) μεμικθ(ωμεν ) εἰς τὰ πάτρια ἀβ(ρόχου) ἀπὸ (ἀρ.) β τὸ ἐπιβάλλον) μέρος.  
 40 (ἔτους) β' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου Γενναιοτάτου καὶ Ἐπιφανεστάτου  
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν Φαμενώθ.  
 (m.2) Καλπουρνία Ἡράκλεια ἢ καὶ Εὐδαμία δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἰέρακος γρ(αμ-  
 ματέως) ἐπιδέδωκα.

45 / Θμοινακωμ( ) / Ὀσοροννώφριος  
 / Θμουειψώβθεωσ / Τυχιννεκώτεωσ  
 / Χχοίβεωσ

(Back) ↓ Φοβώου

1 κωμογρξ δ κῶ απῆ το) 4 βξ 6 ἰδιωτ' ας' εναμ) αβροχ' επηνη' ας' γ (= γίνονται)  
 αβ επ'ν αν' ας' 8 αν' βξ' αβροχ' 5 (= ἦμικυ) 10 βακ' αν' γξ' αβ δγ) ἰδιω ας'  
 αμπ'ε εκκεκομικς 11 επηνη' ομοι' ας' α- ομοι' 12 αβροχ' επηνη' ομοι' 13 ωνη' γξ'  
 α- αβροχ' δ ωνη' 14 αβροχ' 15 α- αβροχ' εβῆ' επηνη' ιεβῆ' γ κῶ βακ'  
 16 αν' γξ' αβροχ' δγ) ας' αβροχ' α- αβροχ' 17 γ αβροχ' επ'ν ας' α- γ επ'ν  
 18 I. Μεν- 20 ἰδιω ας' εκκεκομικς αβ κατοικ' αβροχ' 21 επηνη' γ ωνη' γξ' αβροχ'  
 ιβξ 22 θξ γ αβροχ' βακ' αβροχ' γ κ βακ' αν' 23 αβροχ' ας' αβροχ' α-  
 αβ επ'ν α- 25 ωνη' κγξ αβ βξ ομοι' 26 κς ομοι' γ αβροχ' κατοικ' αβροχ'  
 επ'ν 27 γ γ κ αβ επ'ν 28 γ κωμ' βακ' αν' αβροχ' ας' αβροχ' α- αβ  
 29 γ αβροχ' επ'ν α- 30 οσορ' κατοικ' ἰδιω α- ωνη' ιεξ αβροχ' 31 κθξ  
 αβροχ' λξ αβ ιβξ τιβ' επ'ν θξ αβροχ' 32 γ α- αβ επ'ν ας' εναμ) αβ  
 β- μεμικθ 33 ιγξ αβροχ' 35 ωνη' γξ δξ γ αβ 36 κλη' α' 37 ουεσ)  
 38 κατοικ' αβ ωνη' αβροχ' γ α- αβ 39 β- μεμικθ αβ επιβδ 40 ἰουλιου  
 41 ἰουλιου 43 αυρη' ἰερακος γρξ

'Sheet 36  
 To the comogrammateus of Phobou and other villages in the eastern toparchy, from Calpurnia  
 Heraclia alias Eudamia, daughter of Calpurnius Theon a former Fellow of the Museum, through her  
 secretary Aurelius Hierax:

I register for the present 2nd year land I possess at

THMOENACOM( )

undivided land, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian and  
 Titus, private land, year 1, under vines,

uninundated  
 artificially irrigated, year 1

205 1/8 ar.  
 13 1/8

total of land uninundated and artificially irrigated, registered year 1

218 3/4

substandard land, productive, in the category . . ., (registered) to those of the House  
 aforesaid, registered year 2

uninundated

1/2

THMOENEPSOBTHIS

undivided land, (registered) to those of the House  
 of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

royal land, registered year 3,  
 uninundated

4 1/2

private land, year 1, with vines which have been  
 cut down,

uninundated  
 artificially irrigated likewise year 1

461 1/4 1/2 1/4

26

one-artaba land, likewise (registered) to those  
 aforesaid,

uninundated  
 artificially irrigated likewise (registered) to those

107 1/4

aforesaid			280 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
and registered to Diodorus alias Apollonius, purchased year 3, at one artaba			
<i>uninundated</i>		9 $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{128}$	
further purchased land . . .			
<i>uninundated</i>		4	
and registered to Antiochus son of Sarapion and grandson of Exacon, through his sons, one-artaba land,			
<i>uninundated</i>		5 $\frac{3}{8}$	10
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			
total = 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$			
Total for the village			
royal land, registered year 3,			
<i>uninundated</i>	$\frac{4}{3}$		
private land, year 1			
<i>uninundated</i>		46 $1\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{32}$ $\frac{1}{64}$	
one-artaba land			
<i>uninundated</i>			130 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{128}$
total <i>uninundated</i>			602 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{64}$ $\frac{1}{128}$
private land, year 1, 26 ar. <i>artificially irrigated</i>			
one-artaba land, 280 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$			
total <i>artificially irrigated</i>			306 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{1}{16}$

## SCHOEBIS

from the Polynicus estate combined with  
that of Meniscus and . . .taeus, and from the  
undivided land, (registered) to those of the  
House of the deified Vespasian and Titus:

private land, year 1, in an area cleared (of vines),			
<i>uninundated</i>		5	
catocic land			
<i>uninundated</i>		24	
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			27
total 51			
purchased year 3			
<i>uninundated</i>		4	
year 12 ditto		5	
year 9 ditto		5	
total <i>uninundated</i>		14	
royal land, registered year 3			
<i>uninundated</i>			10
Total for the estates			
royal land, registered year 3			
<i>uninundated</i>			(10)
private land, year 1			
<i>uninundated</i>	(5)		
one-artaba land			
<i>uninundated</i>			38
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			(27)

and from the estate of Epicrates, (re-  
gistered) to those of the House of the  
deified Vespasian and Titus:

purchased year 23			
<i>uninundated</i>		20	
year 2 Tiberius ditto		6	
year 20 ditto		4	
year 19		26	
total <i>uninundated</i>		56	
catocic land			
<i>uninundated</i>		66 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$	
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			53 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
total 120			
Total for the estate			
<i>uninundated</i>			122 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			(53 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{16}$ )
Total for the village			
royal land, registered year 3			
<i>uninundated</i>			10
private land, year 1			
<i>uninundated</i>		5	
one-artaba land			
<i>uninundated</i>			160 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
Total <i>uninundated</i>			175 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{8}$ $\frac{1}{16}$
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			80 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{16}$

## OSORONNOPHRIOS

catocic land from the estate of Menodorus, private, at one artaba, purchased year 15			
<i>uninundated</i>		15	
year 29			
<i>uninundated</i>		10	
year 30			
<i>uninundated</i>		25	
year 12 Tiberius			
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			8
year 9			
<i>uninundated</i>		6	
total one-artaba land			
<i>uninundated</i>		56	
<i>artificially irrigated</i>			8
year 1, former vine-land			
<i>uninundated</i>		5	
two-artaba land, leased hereditarily in year 13, <i>uninundated</i> , of 9 ar. those parts which fall to me.			

## TYCHINNECOTIS

from the lower embankment, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Ves-  
pasian and Titus:

purchased year 3	35
year 4	<u>31</u>
<i>total unimundated</i> . . .	66

and from the middle embankment and from areas formerly belonging to the gift-  
estate of Artemidorus, (registered) to those of the House of the deified Vespasian  
and Titus:

catoecic land	
<i>unimundated</i>	50
purchased land	
<i>unimundated</i>	<u>114</u>
<i>total one-artaba land</i>	
<i>unimundated</i>	164
two-artaba land, leased hereditarily, <i>unimundated</i> , of 2 ar. the part which falls to me.	

Year 2 of Imperator Caesar Marcus Julius Philippus Pius Felix and Marcus Julius Philippus the most  
noble and illustrious Caesar, Augusti, Phamenoth.

(2nd hand) I, Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, have submitted (this return) through me, Aur.  
Hierax, secretary.'

List of villages.

λς: for the numbering cf. 1549; CdÉ 38 (1963) 124.

2 Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας: she and her father appear again in 3048 11 f. There is a Calpurnia  
Heraclia who leases out vineyards at some time in the third century (unpublished ἐπιδοχή, dated  
'year 2'); there is a Calpurnia whose former property is mentioned in A.D. 269 (PErl. 101, from Oxy-  
rhynchus). Otherwise I find no mention of either father or daughter, though this was clearly a rich  
office-holding family. Perhaps they were related to L. Calpurnius Gaius (prytanis of Oxyrhynchus  
in 222) and his son L. Calpurnius Firmus: for these and their connections see 2723 1 note, 2848  
introd.

3 *σειτηθέντων*: list by N. Lewis, *Mnemosyne*, 1963, p. 257; add 3047 and PMichShelton 620. 2.

4 Θμῶνικακωμ( ): see on 44.

5 ἀγνοσομήτου: again 9 and 19; the word is not attested elsewhere. I suppose it means 'not divided  
into fields'. 'And would not this in turn mean by implication 'not equipped with the usual dikes, canals,  
etc. for the reception of the flood'? It is not surprising if the greater part of such land is reported as  
ἄβροχος, and only a small portion is rendered productive by artificial irrigation' (Youtie).

εἰς: understand *σωμασιζομένην*, as e.g. PMich. VI 367. 12: the land is 'registered to' the lessees,  
that is, they are responsible for the taxes; 1113 i 17 note.

τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου: an οἶκος of Alexandria PFay. 87. 5 (ἐπιτηρηταὶ ὑπαρχόντων οἴκου); an οἶκος of  
Antinoopolis PSI 449. 6 (it owns γήδια); an οὐσία οἴκου καίσαρος PLips. 96. 3. BGU 1182 mentions  
τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου (of Alexandria?) leasing out land.

Vespasian and Titus certainly owned estates in Egypt: PBour. 42. 78, 96 etc.; BGU 1894.  
93 ff.; Tomsin, *Studi Calderini Paribeni* ii 223. It looks as if οἶκος was the still surviving designation of  
some or all of these estates. Prof. Youtie suggests that the persons mentioned are tenants of the former  
estate who have taken on land from Calpurnia Heraclia as a group (for such groups compare the  
πυττάκιον of e.g. PCairIsid. 24. 1).

6 ἐν ἀμπ(έλοις): cf. 10, 32. In the last passage this resolution fits rather awkwardly (after ἀπό).  
We should perhaps consider ἐναμπ(ελικοῦ) as an alternative; but the adjective is not attested, except  
perhaps at PSI 1328. 49 ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσοδώρου [κ]λήρου εντο. . . . λικου ἐναμπ(έ)λου ἀρουρῶν δέκα.

ἀν(αγραφείσαι) α (ἔτους): cf. 8, 10, 16, 22, 28. Here the phrase corresponds to the simple α (ἔτ.)  
earlier in the line. This makes it clear that the years cited are years of acquisition/registration; they  
do not date the condition (uninundated etc.) of the plot described.

7 ὑπολ[ό]γου ἐνφόρου: substandard land which has been improved into production. Prof. Youtie  
remarks that PBeattyPanop. 2. 128 f. describes precisely such land: *περὶ τῆς ἐξαρμένης ἀπὸ ὑπολόγου  
ἀφόρου*.

τῶν παρ. . . ια. [ . . . ] σκεπομένων: ἐ]πρεσκευμένων is not a possible reading; neither is ἐ]πρικεπ<τ>ομένων.  
Palaeographically the most likely readings are τωνπαρ. . . ιας [ (as if α (ἔτους), followed by a numeral- or  
abbreviation-stroke); then ]ησκεπομένων.

9 Θμουειψώβθεως: 1659 55 etc.

10 ἐκκεκομμ(εν): cf. 20; PFouad 67. 12 ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομμένων ἀμπέλ[ων] καὶ παραδε<ις>ων; PRyl.  
207a. 33 ἀπὸ ἐκκεκομμ(ένου); PLeit. 16. 8 f. ἐξ ὄλων ἐκκεκομμένου ἀρουρῶν δύο. This cutting naturally  
put the land in a lower category for taxation: 2847 i 5-7.

11 (μοναρτάβου): for the adjective e.g. 2473 18, PSI 1328. 47; the editors of 1459 and 1549 pre-  
ferred the resolution α (ἀρτάβης). One-artaba land is a substantive category: thus in 1044 it is dis-  
tinguished from βασιλική, and in PSI 1328. 47 ff. from ὀνημένη. But it overlaps others, as is clear from  
the totals in this document: 23-9 (ἐπηνηλημένη) μοναρτάβου ἀρ. κζ + κατοικικῆς ἀρ. νγ (ἡμισυ) ἰς =  
μοναρτάβου ἀρ. π (ἡμισυ) ἰς; 38 κατοικικῆς ἀρ. ν + ὀνημένης ἀρ. ριδ = μοναρτάβου ἀρ. ρξδ. For catoecic  
land at one artaba cf. 3046, SB 9866 and PTebt. 324, corrected in PFamTebt. 51. 15 n.; the rate in  
general is discussed by Préaux, CdÉ 38 (1963) 131.

13 ὀνη(μένης): cf. 21, 25, 30, 35, 38. For the omission of the syllabic augment in this form, Dr.  
Gignac refers me to PMich. 254 and 255, line 3; 270 19 etc.; 346; PSI 1328. 50.

ὀνη(μένης) . . . : the first of the doubtful letters looks like α; but the second suits neither ζ (α ἔτους)  
nor τ (μοναρτάβου).

16 ρλξξδρκ[η]: the correct figure is  $126\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{64} \frac{1}{128}$ . That is, he counted the four arouras (line 14)  
twice.

17 χβδηξδρκη: the correct figure would be  $461\frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{32} \frac{1}{64} + 130\frac{3}{4} \frac{1}{64} \frac{1}{128} = 592\frac{1}{16} \frac{1}{128}$ . (This  
assumes the two sub-totals to be correct, though the second is in fact wrong, see 16 note.) Youtie saw  
that 10 ar. of ἐπηνηλημένη (line 15) was mistakenly counted in; the discrepancy of the fractions may  
be a simple blunder. The total for ἐπηνηλημένη ( $306\frac{1}{16}$ ) is accordingly 10 ar. short.

18 *Χχοίβεως*: the same village 2583 25 (where the reading is thus confirmed).

22 . . . ( ) γίς: here, and at the end of the line, and again in 28, γίς is a copying error for γς',  
i.e. γ (ἔτους). At the second and third places, the word preceding is ἀν(αγραφείσαι), as the formula  
requires. . . ( ) equally must represent an original ἀν(αγραφείσαι); but the copyist has blundered and  
produced something which looks most like γονδ.

25 After '2 Tiberius' we have years '20' and '19': i.e. 20 and 19 Augustus (strict reverse chrono-  
logical order)? or 20 Tiberius and 19 Augustus (allowing normal chronological order within a single  
reign)? Not 20 and 19 Caracalla, unless the sequence is jumbled.

30 Ὀσορονώφριος: the scribe has written an arc-shaped sign over the first rho: normally a mark  
of abbreviation, here perhaps to separate the two parts of the Egyptian compound. The sign is not  
repeated in 44. This village is not in WB III or WBSuppl. Prof. Youtie remarks that the word occurs,  
in the form Ὀσορονώφρις, as a title of Osiris (see PWarren 21. 3); and suggests that the village was  
a dependency of a temple of Osiris.

κατρικ(ικῆς): the scribe wrote βασι, then altered the first three letters to κατο. The old category  
coexists with ἰδιωτική later in the line, cf. Roberts and Skeat, *Aeg.* 13 (1933) 466.

32 (διαρτάβου): cf. 2473 19, where corn-land from the κλήρος of Rhodon and Agasicrates is divided  
between μονάρταβος and διάρταβος; 1031 12.

32-3 μεμειθ(ωμεν) εἰς τὰ πάτρια: cf. Lenger, *Corp. Ord. Ptol.* 53. 11 f. (royal ordinances of 118  
B.C.) πλὴν τῶν μεμειθωμένων εἰς τὸ πατρικὸν [καὶ] ἂν δ[ε]γγύ(ημα) ὑπάρχει; a similar provision ib. 34 i 17  
(PKroll, discussed by Koenen, *Ptolemäische Königsurkunde* 25). PHarris 138 i 24 (1st century A.D.)  
has εἰς τὰ πάτρια by itself; PPetaus 44. 13 (later 2nd cent.) μεμειθ. εἰς τὰ πατρικά. 3047 is still later  
than these. It might be thought that the phrase refers merely to a fossilized Ptolemaic land-category.  
But if τῶ νγ (ἔτει) goes with what precedes, the lease was clearly a real one, contracted in 233/4 (13  
Alexander Severus). The participle μεμειθ(ωμεν) is obviously passive, of the land leased; in *Corp.*





6 \* 7 γεωσκ-: κ corr. from χ 9 ἱερ- 10 α αποργς 11 αὐρή κρς 13 τουκ  
 βουλ 14 οξυρυγκ πολ χαιρη τουκ δημητ χρη 16 κουιν 17 ἱσιου τρυφω θμουειφω  
 23 I. ἔλαιον

'On the authority of Aurelius Tiberius the most excellent *iuridicus*:

All those who have corn in the city or in the nome, are to register (it), so that not only can the city have its supplies but also the public necessities can be fulfilled—tomorrow, which is Phamenoth 22—without sustaining any loss thereby, for one will receive the price which our most illustrious prefect has fixed i.e. 6 denarii—with the knowledge that if anyone is discovered not to have registered it, not only the corn but also the house in which it is found will be confiscated to the most sacred treasury. Year 3, Phamenoth 21.

Copy of return:

To Aurelius Tiberius the most excellent *iuridicus*, from Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, daughter of Calpurnius Theon a former Fellow of the Museum and however else he was styled, acting through Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon, former gymnasiarch and prytanis, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Chaeremon alias Demet... and however he is styled, her guardians: I register in accordance with orders given by you the corn which I possess in the hands of my agents:

in my holding around Suis, 3,020 artabas; in Dositheu, 245 art. . . .; in Iseum Tryphonis 220 art.; in Thmoenepsobthis 460 art.; in Lile 280 art.; in Satyru 820 art. . . .—Out of the above-mentioned, monthly allowances are given to the agents and stewards and farmers and boys and monthly workers. And in Satyru .... already pledged(?) from the past month Mechir to Copres and [ ]pos, cooks in the city, because the oil has gone bad from long keeping, 287 artabas.

Year 3, Phamenoth 22.'

1 ἐξ ἀθεντείας: see 2664 I note; 3050 i 7.

Αὐρηλίου Τιβερίου: no doubt identical with the *iuridicus* Cl. Aurelius Tiberius who honours the Philippi in an inscription from Philippopolis, *Ann. Ép.* 1908, no. 274. This identification, and the mention of Calpurnia Heraclia (11 note), make it likely that the third year mentioned (9, 24) is that of Philip. The proclamation therefore dates from 17 March 246.

3-7 Something is wrong with the grammar. I assume that the words from ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀνεθῆναι form a unit of two parallel clauses; and that γεωσκοντες in 7 refers back to ἀπογραφάσθωσαν. Then we must assume a parenthesis. It might begin with 4 ἔστιν τῆς αὐριον (which will have to mean 'this can be done tomorrow'), and end with line 6. More probably it begins with 5 λήμψεται, and ends with 6; in that case ἐστιν τῆς αὐριον is a mistake (by anticipation) for ἐπὶ or ἐντὸς τῆς αὐριον. Whichever view is taken, λήμψεται must be simple error for λήμψονται. The sentence in general is an oddly compressed way of putting two separate notions: the registration of stocks, and the compulsory purchase of these stocks.

3 τὴν πόλιν: to judge from line 2, this city is Oxyrhynchus rather than Alexandria. It seems to follow that the proclamation was issued separately to each nome, or to this nome only.

4 δημοσίας χρείας: the phrase normally means 'liturgical duties' (*W. Chr.* 35 i 7, ii 1 and vso. 1; *PMey.* 8. 15; *PFamTebt.* 24. 54). It is not clear how the registration of corn would help the performance of these liturgies, except indirectly by assisting those concerned with collecting the *annona*. Youtie suggests that the point is much more basic: the government is trying to provide a subsistence for state officials, because even they are in danger of going hungry.

6 (δηναρίων) ̄: 24 drachmas: for one artaba, presumably (the original proclamation must have stated this; the copyist has abridged, as he did the dates in 9 and 24). The price is high. We have two groups of comparative material:

prices in the normal market (Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 311; *PSarapion* p. 332)

PLond. 1226	A.D. 254 (?)	12 dr.
BGU 14	255	16
PErl. 101	269	24

prices for πυρός συναγοραστικός

2958	A.D. 99	16
2960	100	8
PSI 1262	137	8
PTebt. 394	149	7
2961-7	154	8

By the standards of compulsory purchase, then, 24 dr. per artaba is (even allowing for a century of gentle inflation since A.D. 154) a very stiff price; well above the norm of the open market at this date, and up to the level reached in the inflation of the 260s.

8 ὁ πυρός: this shows that *αἶνον* in 2 has the restricted meaning 'wheat', not the wider meaning 'grain'. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 95.

11 Καλπουρνίας Ἡρακλείας: see 3047 2 note.

13 Πεκύλλο[υ]: this reading (by Dr. Rea) is supported by 1526 9, which mentions a Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων γυμνασιάρχης in A.D. 222/3; and by POslo 111, which has him as prytanis in 234/5.

16 ff. Suis, Dositheu, and Isium Tryphonis are in the lower toparchy; Thmoenepsobthis, Lile, and Satyru in the eastern toparchy. In 3047 Heraclia declares unundated land in five villages, all in the eastern toparchy; these include Thmoenepsobthis.

16 (ἀρτ.) *ε*μ<sup>ε</sup> . . . : the signs which follow the numeral recur, isolated, at the end of 18. We might expect a fraction; or a summation beginning with *γ(ίνονται)*. But I can find no convincing reading on these lines; and in any case neither suits 18. Prof. Youtie suggests that the original declaration had formulaic annotations by some official who checked the figures; the scribe of our copy failed to understand them, and simply drew what he thought he saw.

20 καταμηρείος: e.g. 2155 8. The noun originally supplied was perhaps *γεωργοί* (PCZ IV 59-736. 36).

21 This is a new section, parallel with 16-18 (whereas 19-20 and 22-3 are further indented, to show that they merely continue what precedes). The 287 artabas are additional. They have some special status, somehow to do with two cooks from Oxyrhynchus and with oil which has gone rancid with age.

The crucial difficulty is the reading of the participle in line 21. Given that the letter before *αλλαγεῖται* could be either *ν* or *π*, the possibilities are: (1a) ] . . . . . *συναλλαγεῖται*, (1b) ] . . . . . *προσυναλλαγεῖται*; (2a) ] . . . . . *ε* *ύπαλλαγεῖται*, (2b) ] . . . . . *προσπαλλαγεῖται*. The objection to (1b) and (2b) is, that the verbs are not elsewhere attested. The objection to (1a) and (2a) is, that *προσ-* is a very plausible (though hardly a certain) reading; and *πρό(ε)* cannot be left in isolation.

If (1) were right, the corn was 'contracted' to the cooks, in place of oil which the estate had contracted to supply; if (2), it was mortgaged to them, in place of oil on which they had some kind of lien.

There remains the word(s) after *σάτυρου*. The traces suggest *επ[. . .]αι*; *ε* might be e.g. *ε*, *π* might be e.g. *ν*; ], is the end of a high horizontal or linking stroke. Possibly *ἐπο[ε]κ(ίω) αἰ προσ-* (Rea).

### 3049. DEPOSIT OF GRAIN

19 2B.76/F (4-5) b

13 × 29 cm.

26 January/24 February 247

This sheet carries two versions of the same text. **A** is written along the fibres in a good hand without abbreviations; **B** is written on the back, across the fibres, in a hasty hand with many abbreviations and several interlinear additions. It might seem that **B** is the draft (it omits the final date-clause), and **A** the fair copy. Against this there are two considerations. (a) **B** has a number of important details which **A** omits. (b) The papyrus is torn in such a way as to bisect the first letter in each line of **A**; whereas the lines of **B** generally end well short of the edge. This may suggest that **B**

was written after **A**, and a subsequent tearing of the papyrus: and indeed we should expect the verso text to be the later. In that case **A** is the first draft, and **B** the second. Neither is the finished document, for the quantity of corn is not specified (a blank at **A** 10-11, ποσός at **B** 14).

In the space below **A** are two notes, written across the fibres. The first, perhaps by the same hand as the main text, reads:

τις ἐπιγέγραμμαι αὐτῆς κύριος [[καὶ ἐπε]] ἔσυνχωρη-  
 ἔθεις αὐτῆς καὶ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ εἰδυείης  
 γράμματ(α) [[καὶ ἐπερ]]

This is an unfinished draft subscription, designed perhaps for the guardian Callinicus (**A** 4-6) but expressed as a general formulary with *τις* (cf. e.g. 2677). The second note, in a different hand and upside-down in relation to the first, reads *κοῖτ(αι) τπε ὑπολόγ(ου)* (after this e.g. *θῶων* or *θ (ἔτους) νων*; or *θ* might be *α*: no possibility makes obvious sense).

The main text is a contract of deposit for a certain quantity of corn. PStrass. I 54 and PFouad 58 are similar contracts; 1472 is an application to the archidicastes for the recovery of such a deposit. The formulae follow normal lines: see 2677 and the introduction there. But the situation here envisaged is abnormal, for it straddles the private and the public domain: (a) the grain deposited includes 'the additional percentages' (**A** 11, **B** 16); (b) it is to be delivered, not to the depositor, but *τοῖς ἐπισταλτομένοις ναυκλήροις* (**A** 12, **B** 15); (c) the depositor is to receive a receipt for the grain once delivered. It is clear, then, that the corn is state corn, part of the *annona*; it is to be handed over to shippers sent from Alexandria for it; the depositor Asclepiades is still responsible for the consignment (**B** 18), but the actual delivery is carried out by Didymus-Antonius and the others with whom the deposit is made; the shippers transmit through them to Asclepiades receipts for the amount delivered. Many such receipts survive, and illustrate the process: 2670 1 and note.

This deposit, then, is a stage in the transmission of the *annona* from the responsible official to the shippers. Asclepiades was responsible, because he held office as decaprotus of the middle toparchy, and the corn was stored at Nemeræ in the same toparchy: these details are given only in **B**. He here delegates part at least of his responsibility; this arrangement is unique in the surviving documents about the shipment of the *annona*; one wonders why it should have been necessary, and what profit Didymus-Antonius and the others made from the transaction, which is at their own expense.

The decaprotus took over the functions of the *sitologus*. The office is first attested for Oxyrhynchus by this document, for the Hermopolite in *W. Chr.* 375 of 246, for Philadelphia in *PLeit.* 16 of 244/7. I have suggested in *JRS* 57 (1967) 136 f. that it was first created, at least as a universal institution, as part of a wider reorganization under Philip the Arabian. The object of the reorganization was to increase the yield of the *annona*, and to facilitate its collection and transport; it may have been prompted by the

shortage which, in Oxyrhynchus at least, threatened the state's requirements in March 246 (3048). If the decaproteia was created to meet a crisis, we should be able to explain why it is held here by the most important man in the town (the *prytanis*), whose avocations made it necessary to contract with three other members of the *buleutic* class to perform the duties for him.

## A

→ Αὐρήλιου Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος βουλευ[τ]ῆς τῆς Ὀξύρυγγει-  
 τῶν πόλεως καὶ Πα. . . ας ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦς οἱ τρεῖς Σαρα-  
 πάμμωνος Φανίου γυμνασιαρχήσαντος τῆς Ὀξύρυγγειτῶν  
 πόλεως ἢ δὲ Ἀμμωνοῦς μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου αὐτῆς  
 5 κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ Αὐρηλίου  
 Καλλυνείκου Αὐρηλίω Ἀσκληπιάδῃ γυμνασιαρχήσαντι  
 ἐνάρχῳ πρυτάνει βουλευτῆ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως χαίρειν.  
 ὁμολογοῦμεν ἔχειν σου ἐν παραθέσει πυ[ρ]οῦ γενήματος τοῦ  
 διεληθόντος γ (ἔτους) Μάρκων Ἰουλίω Φιλίππων καισάρων τῶν  
 10 κυρίων μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ἡμιαρταβίῳ ἀρτάβας vac.  
 vac. cὺν ταῖς ἐπομέναις ἑκα-  
 τοσταῖς, ἃς καὶ παραδώσομεν τοῖς ἐπισταλτομένοις ναυκλή-  
 ροις ἰδίαις ἡμῶν δαπάναις, καὶ τούτων ἀποχὰς σοὶ ἐποίσο-  
 μεν ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέσεως καὶ εὐρησιλογίας, εἰ δὲ  
 15 μὴ, ἐκτείσομέν σοι κατὰ τὸν τῶν παραθηκῶν νόμον,  
 τῆς πράξεως σοὶ οὐσης παρά τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων  
 εἰς ἔκτεισιν καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἰρή καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν-  
 των ἡμεῖν πάντων· κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον διςσὸν γραφὴν  
 πανταχῇ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέρον-  
 20 τι, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ ὁμολογήσαμεν. (ἔτους) δ'  
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἰουλίω Φιλίππου Εὐσεβοῦς  
 Εὐτυχοῦς καὶ Μάρκου Ἰουλίω Φιλίππου Γενναιοτάτου καὶ Ἐπιφανεστάτου  
 Καίσαρος Σεβαστῶν Μεχείρ.

9 ἰουλιω 13 ἰδιας 14 ὑπερ- 17 ὑπαρχ- 19 ὑπερ 21 ἰουλιου

## B

↓ *Αὐρήλιος Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος*  
*βουλευτ(ῆς) τῆς Ὁξύρυγχ(ειτῶν) πόλ(εως) καὶ Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δί-*  
*δυμος καὶ Ἀμμωνοῦς οἱ γ' Ἐαραπ(άμ)μωνος*  
*Φανίου γυμνα(ειαρχῆσαντος) τῆς Ὁξύρυγχ(ειτῶν) ἁ(ὐτῆς) πόλεως, ἡ δὲ*  
 5 *Ἀμμωνοῦς μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδομένου αὐτῆ*  
*κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη {τοῦ δεδομένου*  
*αὐτῆ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη} τοῦ ἑτέρου*  
*αὐτῶν ἀδελφοῦ Καλλινείκου Ἀ(ὐρηλίω) Ἀσκληπι(ά)δης*  
*γυμνα(ειαρχῆσαντι) ἐνάρχ(ω) πρυτ(άνει) βου(λευτῆ) τῆς α(ὐτῆς) πόλ(εως) δεκα-*  
 10 *πρώτῳ μέσῃς τοπ(αρχίας) χαίρειν. ὁμολογοῦμεν*  
*ἔχειν σου ἐν παραθέσει (πυροῦ) γενήμα(τος) τοῦ διε(λθόντος) γ (ἔτους)*  
*Μάρκων Ἰουλίων Φιλίππων καισάρων τῶν*  
*κυρίων σεβαστῶν ἐν κώμῃ Νεμέραις*  
*μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ (ἡμιαρταβίῳ) ἀρτάβ(ας) ποσὰς γ(ίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) *vac.**  
 15 *καὶ ταύτας παραδώσομεν τοῖς ἐπισταλτο-*  
*μένοις ναυκλήροις ἡ[ναυκλή(ροις) ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Νεμ] ἑπὶ ταῖς ἐπομέναις*  
*ἑκατος-*  
*ταῖς ταῖς ἰδίας ἡμῶν δαπάναις αἱ ἐὰν*  
*γείνωνται ἡ[ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς Νεμερῶν] ζοῦ μόνον ἐπακολουθοῦντος*  
*καὶ τούτων ἀποχὰς σοὶ ἐποίσομεν καθαρὰς*  
 20 *ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπὶ τῆς α(ὐτῆς) Νεμερῶν τῆς πράξεως σοὶ οὔσης*  
*παρὰ τε ἡμῶν ἀλληλεγγύων ὄντων*  
*εἰς ἔκτειναι καὶ ἐξ οὗ ἐὰν ἡμῶν αἰρή*  
*καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν πάντων.*  
*κύριον τὸ χειρόγραφον δις δὲ γραφὴν*  
 25 *πανταχῆ ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ παντὶ τῷ*  
*ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἐπιφέρουσι, καὶ ἐπερωτηθέν-*  
*τες ὑπὸ σοῦ ὁμολογήσαμεν.*

2 βουλευτ οξύρυγχ πδ 4 γυμνας οξύρυγχ α<sup>-</sup> 8 α<sup>-</sup> 9 γυμνας εναρχ πρυτς  
 βου<sup>-</sup> α<sup>-</sup> πδ 10 το) 11 F γενήμας διε<sup>-</sup> γς 12 ἴου- 14 Σ'αρτα<sup>β</sup> /-  
 17 ἰδίας 20 α<sup>-</sup> 21 -εγ'γυων

(Translation of B) 'The Aurelii Didymus alias Antonius, senator of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Pallas alias Didymus, and Ammonous, all three children of Sarapammon son of Phantias, former gymnasiarch of the said city, Ammonous with the guardian assigned to her in accordance with the customs of the Romans, (namely) their other brother Callinicus: to Aurelius Asclepiades former

gymnasiarch, prytanis in office and senator of the said city, decaprotus of the middle toparchy: greetings.

We acknowledge that we hold from you on deposit, of the corn of the produce of the past 3rd year of the Marci Julii Philippi Caesares our lords the Augusti, in the village Nemerac, by the public half-artaba measure, such-and-such a quantity. And this we will hand over to the ships' captains who shall be sent for it, together with the percentages attaching, at our own expense whatever the expense may be: you are to exercise supervision (in this delivery), but nothing more (?). And for this (corn) we shall present you with receipts, free from any kind of flaw, at the said Nemerac; you have the right of execution upon us, who guarantee one another mutually for payment, and upon whichever of us you choose, and upon all our possessions. This chirograph is valid, being written in two copies, wherever it is produced and for whoever produces it on your behalf, and in answer to your question we have made acknowledgement.'

A 2 *Πα. . . ac*: the scribe wrote *Παλας* or *Παστας*; whereas B 2 certainly has *Παλλας* or *Παστας*. *Παστας* and *Παστας* might be alternative spellings of a single name (PPetaus. 10. 6 n.), but neither is known to NB or *Onomasticum*. I assume that *Πάλλας* is correct in B, and miswritten in A.

2-3 Sarapammon is not in Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarches*.

6-7 Asclepiades is here prytanis, in Mecheir 247. He appears as ex-prytanis in proceedings of Thoth 247 (1418). Presumably his successor took office on 1 Thoth. See A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 63.

11-12 ἑκατοσταῖς: cf. 2670 34-6 note.

B 18 ἐπακολουθοῦντος: in some of the receipts issued by shippers, the grain is said to have been loaded ἐπακολουθούτων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τεταγμένων καὶ ὧν ἄλλων δέον ἐστὶν (PSI 1053; 2125 12; probably 1259 20). Asclepiades is still strictly responsible for the grain, and must therefore provide his ἐπακούθησις; but that is all (μόνον), the rest of the work falls to Didymus-Antonius and the others. Alternatively, *μόνον* might emphasize σοῦ: 'You, and no one else, have the right of ἐπακούθησις.'

## 3050. PROCLAMATION AND OFFICIAL LETTERS

19 2B.75/K (4) a

11 × 31.5 cm.

Third century

Remains of two columns, the second at full height and the first nearly so. The sheet was cut down, so that only line-ends and line-beginnings remain; the initial lacuna in col. i is of c. 50 letters. The cut-down sheet was used for an account of jars, 3081 below. It was at this stage, presumably, that a single unfinished line was written between the two columns and at right angles to them; its beginning was hatched out, and the rest deleted with a single horizontal line. It reads: [c. 17] [καὶ τῶν λεχθέντων ἀπὸ μέγ α. [. . .] .λου φορίμης καὶ τῶν περι].

The script of col. ii is more upright and less rapid than that of col. i: probably a different writer.

The main text is a collection of official documents:

i 9-27 proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris (c. 246-8) *περὶ τε παρορισμῶν* [καὶ ; a procedure is laid down for those who have such encroachments to complain of; the procedure involves decaproti and horiodeictae. There is some similarity with PLeit. 16, of 244/7, in which the petitioners complain of being assigned too much land (and the tax on it) in the registers; they appeal to the decaproti, invoking orders of Marcellus and Salutaris (Il. 24-5); the procedure is, that the comogrammateus and

horiodeictes should assist in a fresh survey of the disputed areas. Both exaggerations and encroachments have to be rectified, if the land-register is to be strictly accurate; and Marcellus and Salutaris perhaps had a special interest in an up-to-date survey of their province's resources (*JRS* 57 (1967) 135). It is even possible that 3050 dealt with both topics; at least τε suggests that something parallel with *παρορισμῶν* followed. In that case, this proclamation might be the one referred to in *PLeit.* 16. 24-5.

What follows is much more obscure. *χαίρειν* i 35 begins a letter; *ἐνέτυχον* ii 7, if first person, suggests a petitioner reviewing the past history of his case.

ii 29-35 and 38-43 are letters of Lissenius Proculus. Before the first is a heading, or possibly another short letter (ii 26-8). Before the second are two lines of connecting narrative. Nothing certain offers in the content except 37 *τοὺς ἀφήλικα*[c.

Lissenius Proculus appears as acting prefect in *PSI* 870. This office normally falls to the *iuridicus*. The date is quite uncertain: *PSI* 870 was assigned 'to the second rather than to the third century' on palaeographic grounds. 3050 might contribute to the problem, if we could determine the link between the different items copied.

If the collection is a collection of precedents, the items may be widely separated in time. I see no way of excluding this possibility. But the length of the pieces quoted, and the connecting lines ii 36-7, weigh against it. If on the other hand the collection is one of incoming correspondence (*epistulae receptae*) or of documents relating to a single case or litigant, the items should cohere chronologically. The second of these is the more attractive: Lissenius Proculus (perhaps as *iuridicus*, cf. i 31) is addressed in i 35 ff. and replies in ii 26 ff.

3050 thus gives some ground for assigning Lissenius Proculus to the same period as Marcellus and Salutaris, and for redating *PSI* 870. This date can be supported on other grounds: see now J. R. Rea, *Akten d. XIII. int. Kongr. d. Pap.* (Marburg, 1971).

	Col. i		Col. ii
→	]η'	i	.....[
	]...[χαριν....		καὶ οἰκοπέδων[
	]αφροντιστον		δάσεως διὰ τῶν...[
	]ανέστρεψεν		...ιας καὶ...ενε[
5	]	5	]αι τούτων...[
	]...ε παρορισμῶν		.....αυτοῖς...[
	]...ιῆ		ἐνέτυχον καὶ...[
	]ν καὶ Μαρκίου Καλου-		της ἐπιστρατηγ...[
10	]	10	μοι δίκαια πρὸς...[
	]περὶ τε παρορισμῶ(ν)		παραγγείλας οἰα...[
	]ἐλάττονας ἀρούρας		γνωρίμων μοι...[
	]...τας ζητήσεις περὰ		ὑποστήναι ὧν...[
	]...δεκαπρώτοις ἐν		δίκην οἱ δὲ εἰς το...[
15	]...τοῖς τῆς τοπαρχίας	15	του ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶ...[
	]μετακαλεσαμε-		ἦλθον σοὶ ἐξεπι...[
	]...ὀριδοεικτῶν καὶ		τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ βοῆ[θείας
	]...εῖναι μ[ε]ταξὺ αὐ		καλῶ κατὰ τὴν...[
	]...η[...]αθαι ἴν' οὕτω		αὐθεντίας πρεμ[
20	]παύσῃται καὶ	20	επικρατεῖν...[
	]δίδω καὶ εἰτι		αἱ διατάξεις [
	]...ηστετυ		Ἀύρηλ( ) Ἑρμοκλ...[
	]...τούτῳ τῷ πρα		δως...].ραμμ[
	]...εντοὶ τινες		[
25	]...εσθαι πρὸς	25	[
	]ν ἐκάστοις τα		Λισση[νι
	ἐ]ντυχεῖν. πρόθεσ.		περὶ πρὸς...[
	]		νομον ἐπι...[
	]...εἰδωσι τοῖς τε δε		Λισσηνίος Πρ[όκλος
30	]	30	ἔχρῃν μὲν α...[
	]...ιοδοτου		νον τε πολλὰ α[
	]		τῆς ἡγεμονίας [
	]...ν[...].αχωνσιος		.....]...[
	]		αγαγεῖν ὑπερ[
35	]...χαίρειν.	35	(ἔτους) β" Ἐπεὶ φ[
	]...ιος Ἀνουβίου		ἐγράφη δὲ κα[
	]...α. ματα Ἡρακλεῖ		τοὺς ἀφήλικα[ε
	]...επ...της δικαι		Λισσηνίος Π[ρόκλος
	]...[.....]		.....[
		40	καὶ Κύριλλα[
			ἀπει. ὧν[
			τὴν νομῆ[
			(ἔτους) γ [

c. 4 lines lost

i 12 ελατ'τονας ii 10 παραγ'γελιας

i 7-8 A heading (subject and date of the proclamation), as in ii 26-8 and (in narrative form) ii 36-7. Cf. 3026 introd.

7 παρορισμῶν: note PMilVogl. IV 251. 3-4, which mentions a report of a horiodeictes παρορισμοῦ γνωμέν(ου); BGU 616.

9-27 Proclamation of Marcellus and Salutaris. The format is the same as in 2664. 9-10 might be restored accordingly: ἐξ αὐθεντίας Κλαυδίου Μαρκελλοῦ τοῦ διασημοτάτου καθολικοῦ καὶ Μαρκίου Σαλου[ταρίου τοῦ κρατίστου ἐπιτρόπου τῶν σεβαστῶν ± 14]. This gives an initial lacuna of c. 50 letters. I have assumed from the spacing that there was a short line of writing between 9 and 11. But the space is not so marked as to make this certain.

13 πέρα? περᾶ[ναι?]

15 ]τοις τῆς τοπαρχίας: presumably δεκαπρώ]τοις or τοῖς τῆς τ. [δεκαπρώτοις. The other officials likely to be involved had authority only in their own village (comogrammateus, horiodeictes: for the latter see PCairIsid. 3. 10 note).

21 ff. might be restored on the lines of 3017 2-3 and 13: εἴ τι[νες . . . ὑπογραφε]ῆς τετυ[χῆ]κας; 24 εἰ μ[έντοι] τινες . . .

23 E.g. τοῦτω τῶ πρα[[γματικῶ] (PLeit. 16. 9 note).

26 ἐκάστους τα: restore τὰ | [ἴδια? The phrase is used of the rectification of παρορισμοὶ in BGU 616 (verb ἀποκαταστήσαι) and PRossGeorg. II 21. 17-18 (verb παρα[δοῦναι]).

29 E.g. ἴν' εἰδῶσι τοῖς τε δε[καπρώτοις]. If this is right, the note refers back to the proclamation. 31 may be the heading of a new document: a letter (35) from or to the *iuridicus* (31).

31 Probably δικα]ιοδότης.

33 ν is probable; before it a horizontal, like the cross-bar of ε; after it probably π. Perhaps e.g. δ]ξ ὑπ[ὸ] Τ]αχώνκιος.

36 ]ωσιος might be possible, but not ]ωνσιος; it would be convenient to find a connection with 33, which from its position should belong to a summary of the letter which follows. Alternatively ]ωνσιος?

37 Probably γρ]άμματα. 'Ηρακλει- may then have been the writer of these 'letters'. If the whole collection of documents belongs to the 240s, only two known high officials come into question: the prefect Aur. Sept. Heraclitus, in office in 215; and the prefect Heraclius, known only from the undated 1313 (third cent.).

38 Apparently not ἐπιστολῆς; perhaps ἐπὶ τῶ τῆς δικαί[οδοσίας?]

39 If this column finished opposite ii 43, there will have been four more lines.

ii 6 At the beginning e.g. ρῆτορς.

10 παραγγείλιας: e.g. 2343 7, of the prefect's instructions to the petitioner.

21 Is this the subscription of the petition (which one might otherwise have supposed to terminate not long after the βοήθεια-phrase in 16)? -κλη[ς or -κλη]ν suits the trace; not -κλε[ς].

22 Not εἰ]δότης γράμματα. Perhaps e.g. ἐπιδόξω γράμματα.

26-8 Is this the heading of the letter which follows, or a letter itself?

27 Perhaps περὶ προσώπων; or περὶ Πρωσώπων.

30 α. .[: π[ or τ. .[.

41 E.g. ἀπέριων [, ἀπειλῶν [.

## IV. PRIVATE DOCUMENTS

## 3051. RECEIPT FOR ARREARS OF RENT

33 4B.79/E (1-3) a

21 × 20.7 cm.

Plate XI  
1 May 89

This receipt was given by the steward of Ti. Claudius Theon, a former gymnasiarch and agoranomus of Alexandria. Theon had leased out land from the Seneca estate to Petsiris; rent both in cash and in kind was owing; Petsiris' son here settles the debt in a single cash payment. Petsiris also had debts to the steward's own father; a final safeguard (lines 8-11) stipulates that the obligation to settle these is not affected by the present transaction.

It is likely enough that Petsiris had died, leaving his creditors to his son. This copy of the receipt has no subscription, but was certainly folded for preservation.

For similar texts see J. Herrmann, *Studien z. Bodenpacht* 273 f.

The background is illuminated by 2873, published with commentary by G. M. Browne, *BASP* 5 (1968) 16 ff. The document is a withdrawal from lease, dated A.D. 62; it is submitted by two farmers (sublessees) to Ti. Claudius Theon, *μισθωτής τῆς Λουκείου Ἀνναίου Σερέκα οὐσίας*. If this is the same Theon as in 3051, he seems to have held the Seneca estate for over twenty-seven years.

The chief interest of the piece is palaeographic. The hand is an elegant and formal one with few ligatures (it degenerates into cursive only in the date, lines 11-12). The sporadic tall ε and the flattened ω look forward to the Severe Style and similar hands of the mid second century; 3051 should figure with PGissUnivBibl. 20 and PBremen 5 (both early in the reign of Hadrian) among the dated forerunners of those hands.

The back is blank.

→ .....]εινος οἰκ[ον]όμος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Θεώνος τῶν  
γεγυμνα]ειραρχηκότων καὶ ἡγορανομηκότων Ἀλεξανδρεί-  
ας .....]ωι Πετσίρειως τοῦ καὶ Λίβωνος τοῦ Πανεχάτου  
.....] παρὰ [ε]οῦ εἰς τὸν τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Κλαυδίου  
5 Θεώνος λό]γον λ[ο]ιπὸν ἐκφορ[ε]ῶν καὶ ἀργυρικῶν φόρων  
.....]ν ὧν ἐγεώ[ρ]γει ὁ προγεγραμμένος πατήρ .....  
.....]ενεκε[ι]ανῆς [ο]υσίας τῶν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνων  
.....]ἀργυρίου δραχμαὶ ἑπτακόσαι (γίνονται) (δρ.) ψ μένοντος  
μοι τοῦ λό]γου τῶν ὀφειλομένων τῶ πατρί μου Κλαυδίω  
10 .....] ὑπ[ὸ] τ[ο]ῦ π[ρ]ογεγ[ρ]αμμένου πατρός σου Πετ-  
σίρειως τοῦ καὶ Λίβωνος. (ἔτους) η Ἀντοκράτορος Καίσαρος  
Δομ]τιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μη(νός) Γερμανικεῖου ἐκ[τ]ηι.

8 / 5 ψ

[ ]inus, steward of Tiberius Claudius Theon, former gymnasiarch and agoranomus of Alexandria, to . . . son of Petsiris alias Libo and grandson of Panechotes, greetings. I have received from you, for the account of the above-mentioned Claudius Theon, arrears of rent in kind and rent in money for . . . ouras which your above-mentioned father farmed in former times, being part of the Seneca estate . . . seven hundred drachmas of silver, making 700 dr., without prejudice to my rights in respect of the debt owing to my father Claudius [ ] from your above-mentioned father Petsiris alias Libo. Year 8 of Emperor Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, month Germaniceus sixth.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Ti. Claudius Theon was one of the landowners involved in constructing a dike at Tychin-necotis in A.D. 83/4 (290 29); property *πρότερον Κλαυδίου Θεώνος* is mentioned in A.D. 101 (510 15 f.). Either or both might be identical with the Theon of 2873 and 3051.

<sup>2</sup> *γεγυμνα* [αιραχηκότων: add Ti. Claudius Theon to Sijpesteijn, *Liste des gymnasiarches* 44.

<sup>4</sup> . . . . .]: the expected formula is *χα(ίρειν)· ἀπέχ[ω (χαίρειν without abbreviation exceeds the space).*

<sup>6</sup> *δν*: the relative need have no noun attached, see PHamb. 8. 6. But *ἀρουρ[ω]ν* would fit conveniently before it.

. . . . .]: the letters are much damaged. We expect *πατήρ σου*; there is enough ink for *πατήρ σου* Περ[[*ε*ρις (Youtie). But the first trace is rather straight for *c*. Possibly *μου* was written by mistake.

<sup>8</sup> *δραχμαὶ ἐπτακόσια*: if the supplement *ἀπέχ[ω (4)* is right, we expect an accusative. The nominative may be a mistake; or the beginning of the line might be restored *δ̄ ἔστιν ἀργυρίου*.

<sup>9</sup> *τῷ πατρί μου*: the steward has received one payment on behalf of his master; he wishes to make it clear that this in no way affects his own rights as representative (or heir) of his father. The father was a Roman citizen; the son must similarly have borne the *nomen* Claudius (either abbreviated or omitted in line 1, to judge from the space).

## 3052. ITINERARY

5 1B.42/G (c)

17 × 17.5 cm.

First century

The papyrus is broken at the top; but the content suggests that little, if anything, preceded line 1. The lower half of the sheet, and the back, are blank. The hand, which is virtually without ligatures, belongs to the earlier first century; dated parallels are listed in the introduction to 2435.

The text is the itinerary of a journey from Nicopolis to (perhaps) Oxyrhynchus. The travellers enter Egypt, line 2 (that is, they leave Alexandria); and reach Nicopolis on Mecheir 17. Subsequent stages have numbers, from 1 to 9 or 10. These numerals might represent days of the month; but in that case nearly two weeks passed at Nicopolis. It seems more likely that the numbers simply index the successive days of the journey.

The towns named, so far as they are legible and identifiable, suggest a journey by water: from *Nicopolis* by canal to Schedia, and then south on the Canopic branch past *Hermoupolis* Minor (cf. Strabo 17. 1. 16 and 22); south again on the main stream past *Babylon* and *Memphis* to *Aphrodito*; west along the Fayyūm canal, past *Venne*, to join the Baḥr Yūsuf at *Ptolemais* Hormu; along the Baḥr Yūsuf past *Caene* (?) and *Tacona* (?) to Oxyrhynchus.

This explains why the stages include both Memphis, on the west bank, and Babylon and Aphrodito, on the east bank. The land routes naturally stay on one bank: *Itinerarium Antonini* (155. 1 ff.) Chereu, Hermoupoli, Andro, Niciu, Letus, Memphis, Peme, Isiu, Caene, Tacona, Ossirincho; *Tabula Peutingeriana* (see K. Miller, *Itin. Rom.* 852 ff.) Alexandria, Melcati, Naucrati, Niciu, Auleu, Memphis, Venne, Sinottū, Ptolemaidonar, Heracleo, etc. The land route would be quicker: the *Itin. Antonini* reckons five days from Chereu to Memphis, our travellers took nine days from Nicopolis. Of course they were going against the current; and took time off for a bath on at least five days.<sup>1</sup>

The coincidences between this itinerary (a purely private document) and the literary ones are interesting. *Venne* is known only from the papyrus and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

→ α . . . . . [ ]  
 εἰς Αἴγυπτον [ . . . . . Με]χεῖρ ιζ̄ εἰς Νει-  
 κόπολιν ᾱ εἰς [ . . . . . β̄ εἰς Ἐρμου πόλιν γ̄  
 εἰς . . . ειαμ . . [ . . . . . ] . . ἔλουσάμεθα [ δ̄  
 5 εἰς . ετ . η̄ ε̄ εἰς [ . . . . . ἔλο]υσάμεθα καὶ ἐμί-  
 ναμεν . ἀλλα' ν̄ τε [ . . . . . ] θίου ἔλουσάμεθα [ ]  
 εἰ . . . ω̄ ζ̄ εἰς Πε [ . . . . . ] μεθα ᾱ . την ἧ παρε[μ-  
 βολῆ Ἀγαθοκλέο[υς ε̄]λουσάμεθα θ̄ Βαβυλῶν  
 παρεμ]βολῆ ἔϊτα Μένφεις . εἶτα εἰς φύλακας Ἀφροδειτώ  
 10 . . . . . [ . . ] . εἶτα Οὐεννὲ εἶτα Πτολεμαεῖς εἶτα [Λευκογε] Κεν . .  
 . . . . . [ . . ] . εἶτα . . ᾱ . . [ ]

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *αγλ* or *αγα*. The papyrus breaks off just above this line, which may or may not have been the beginning of the text.

<sup>3</sup> *εἰς* [ . . . . . : perhaps [Χαιρέου, which precedes Hermoupolis in the *Itin. Antonini*. 1749 assesses costs of water-transport from this town to Niciu, Heracleopolis, and Cynopolis.

<sup>4</sup> . . . ειαμ . . : before *ε* perhaps *η* or *ν*; after *μ* perhaps *η*, then the left side of *γ* or *π*.

. . . : perhaps [ . . ] ω̄.

<sup>5</sup> *εἰς . ετ . η̄*: apparently *Νετλ[[ε]η* (though the first letter might possibly be *καρρα*). Not known to *WB* III or *WBSuppl*.

*εἰς* [ : a curving tail, as of *ρ* or *ν*.

<sup>5-7</sup> We have to restore *ξ̄* somewhere in line 6. (a) 6-7 *ἔλουσάμεθα [ξ̄] | εἰς . . ω̄* looks satisfactory; if so, the travellers bathed twice on the fifth day. (b) 6 e.g. [*ξ̄ εἰς . . ] θίου*; in that case the travellers proceeded *εἰς . . ω̄* after their bath (or *εἰ . . ω̄* must be restored differently).

<sup>6</sup> *ἀλλαντε* [ : the first letter looks like a *τ* closely followed by remains of another upright: probably *π*, in the form characteristic of this hand. At the end, a low curve as of *ς*. I can make nothing of *παλλαντε*; and *Παλλαντεο* is not promising as a proper name.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rea compares the extract from Alexander's Journals, Arrian *Anab.* 7. 25 f. (FGrH 117 F 3): *ἔπειτα ἐξαναστάντα καὶ λουσάμενον . . ἀπαλαχθέντα δὲ τοῦ πότου λούσασθαι κτλ.*



]θιον: of θ parts of the loop and a trace of cross-bar to the left (θ rather than β ε φ; not Νι[κίου]).

7 εἰς Πε[.]: if what follows is ἐλουκά[μεθα, the place-name can have only three or four letters. Περ[ would be a good reading (remains of the loop and of the shaft of ρ).

α.την: foot of upright, and left-hand arc, as for αεστην. Seemingly not δις (which in any case leaves την without function).

7-8 παρε[μ]βολή Ἀγαθοκλέ[υς: I have not found this place-name attested. As a speculation, I note that Agathocles son of Oenanthe, as 'guardian' of Ptolemy V, sent Scopas to recruit new mercenaries with the intention τοὺς ἀρχαίους καὶ προῦπάρχοντας ξένους ἐπὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν φρούρια καὶ τὰς κατοικίας ἀποτελεῖν (Pol. 15. 25. 17). The *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* registers no high-ranking soldiers called Agathocles.

9 Μένφεις: the trace which follows is of an upright. Perhaps the numeral ι (the stroke above it lost); but εἶτα is then superfluous.

φύλακας Ἀφροδειτώ: φύλακας rather than φυλακάς. This entry supports the restoration ἐν Ἀφροδείτης πόλει at PHib. 198. 126-7, in a list of φυλακαί. The guards must have manned a customs post: compare the Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακή (PHib. 198. 130), which Strabo 17. 1. 41 describes as τελώνιον τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καταφερομένων.

The ship-canal for the Arsinoite leaves the Nile opposite Aphrodito; the travellers must have turned along it, to reach Ptolemais Hormu (10). On the canal see Wiken, *Corolla Archeologica* (*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 2, 1932) 272 f.; he remarks that Strabo too seems to have used it, since his description proceeds from Aphroditopolis to the Arsinoite and then to the Heracleopolite.

10 Οὐενέ must be the *Venne* mentioned by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* after Memphis and before *Ptolemaidonar* (i.e. Ptolemais Hormu?) and *Heracleo*.

Προλεμαίς: sc. Ὀρμου. See PPetaus pp. 22 ff.

[[λευκογε]]: the scribe began to write *Λευκογεῖον*, the southern river-port of the Fayyūm. The suprascript might be read *κενη* i.e. *Καινή*: a suitable town, being on the Bahr Yūsuf. This depends partly on what terminus is reached in the next line.

11 . . a . . . ]: difficult. I had tried Ἡρακλέ[ους: against this (a) εἰ looks much more like οἰ, and there is no room for λ before it; (b) if *Κενή* is right in 10, Heracleopolis is well behind us. A better guess would be *Τακβίνα*, which the *Iin. Anton.* gives as the last stage on the road before Oxyrhynchus. Against this: there is more space and ink than the initial τ can explain.

## 3053. REGISTRATION OF SALE OF SLAVE

34 4B.77/L (1-3) a

9.8 × 16.3 cm.

28 October/26 November 252

This document exactly parallels 73 (A.D. 94) and 3054 (A.D. 265). It states that the owner of a slave has registered him (*ἀπεγράψατο*), declaring his ownership by a document submitted (*ὑπόμνημα*) and an oath in writing (*χειρογραφία*); details are given about the slave and about the circumstances of the purchase. The registration is made through the agoranomi or their substitutes.

73 has been discussed by Mitteis, *Gz.* 184; Woess, *Untersuch. ü. d. Urkundenwesen* 170 ff.; Seidl, *Der Eid* i 90 f.; Pringsheim, *Greek Law of Sale* 234 f.

263 (Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 77) and SB 7533 ('Upper Egypt', A.D. 160/1) illustrate the previous submission and oath referred to (lines 10-11). In these documents the seller of a slave addresses the agoranomi; he swears that he has sold the slave, that the slave was his property, and that he has received the price—in effect, then, affirms on oath the contents of the deed of sale (which in SB 7533 follows on the same sheet). The same procedure, but for a sale of land, appears in 100 of A.D. 133 (revised text and bibliography in *CPJ* iii 454).

This is the oath of the seller. The *χειρογραφία* of the purchaser (3053 11 etc.) will have been similar. The *ὑπόμνημα* of the purchaser remains obscure; if it was simply an *ἀπογραφή* (registering the acquisition of the slave), the *ἀπεγράψατο* documents must represent yet another stage—written confirmation that the *ἀπογραφή*-procedure has been gone through.

All these documents do or may come from Oxyrhynchus. The new pieces 3053 and 3054 show that this first-century form continued in use in the later third century: concurrently, that is, with the complexities of anacrisis (see Wolff, *ZSS* 83 (1966) 340; van der Wal, *Rev. de l'hist. du droit* 35 (1967) 595).

The sale took place at Aurelia Tripolis (13): the title is new and interesting.

The back is blank.

- ἔτου[ς γ Αὐ]τοκρατόρων Καϊσάρων Γαίου Οὐιβίου  
 Τρεβ[ω]γμανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐιβίου Ἀφινίου  
 Γάλλου Οὐελδουμμανοῦ Οὐολουσιανοῦ Εὐσεβῶν  
 Εὐτυχῶν Σεβα[στῶ]ν μνησὶς Νέου Σεβαστοῦ (vac.)  
 5 Ἀθῶν (vac.) ἐν Ὁξ(υρύγγων) πόλ(ει) διὰ Αὐρηλ(ίου) Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ καὶ  
 Διονυσίου ἀσχολ[ου]μ(ένου) ὠνή(ν) ἀγορανομ(είου).  
 ἀπεγράψατο τῇ ἐνεστώσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος  
 Μαρκιαν[ο]ς ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Δημητρίου  
 Εὐθηνοδότ[ε]ιο[ς] ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς ὡς (ἐτῶν) λζ ἄσχημ(ος) ἐν ἀγνῆ  
 10 ὄν ἐδήλου δι' οὗ ἐπέδωκεν ὑπομνήματος καὶ ἦς  
 πεποιήται χειρογραφίας ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ ἀγορασθεῖ-  
 καν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δίπλωμα Ἑλληνικὸν γενόμενον  
 ἐν Αὐρηλία Τριπόλει τῆς Φοινίκης τῷ διελθόντι  
 β (ἔτει) παρὰ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Δε. των. . . Κυβανοῦ Ὁσρο-  
 15 ηνοῦ δούλην ὀνόματι Βαλσαμέαν γενεῖ Ὁσροηνῆν  
 Μεσοποταμηνῆν ὡς (ἐτῶν) ιζ οὐλ(αι) χεῖλει τῷ ἄνω ἐξ ἀρι-  
 στερ(ῶν) καὶ γόνατι δεξ(ιῶ) ἀπὸ καταπλοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διελ-  
 θ[ό]ντος β (ἔτους) Ἐπειφ κζ ἐν πλοίῳ Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 Διοσκόρου ἄκατος Οὐρανία ἐν ἀγνῆ τῇ αὐτῇ.  
 20 (m.<sup>2</sup>) Αὐρήλιος Μαρκιανὸς ἀπεγραψάμην  
 ὡς πρόκειται.

5 οξ̄ πδ̄ αυρή 6 ασχολ[ου]μ̄ ωνη αγορανομ̄ 8 ηρακλης corr. from -κλειος? ισιδωρου  
 10 υπο- 11 υπ- 12 υπ 15 οσρο-: c corrected 16 ουλ 16-17 αριστερ' δεξ'  
 19 αγνη



'Year 3 of Imperatores Caesares Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, in the month Neos Sebastos . . . , Hathyr . . . , in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through Aurelius Antipater alias Dionysius who has in charge the farm of the agoranomeion.

Marcus Aurelius Marcianus alias Heracles, son of Isidorus and grandson of Demetrius, of the Euthenodotean tribe and the Althaeian deme, aged about 37, no distinguishing marks, registered this present day, in the street, the slave whom he declared in the memorandum he submitted and the written oath he made to belong to him, purchased by him under a Greek contract made in Aurelia Tripolis in Phoenicia in the past 2nd year from Marcus Aurelius . . . Silvanus, an Osrhoenian—the female slave by name Balsamea, by race Osrhoenian Mesopotamian, age about 17, scars on the upper lip to the left and on the right knee, imported by sea, in the said past 2nd year, Epeiph 26, in a boat belonging to Marcus Aurelius Dioscorus, (type?) *akatos*, (figurehead?) Urania, in the said street.

(2nd hand) I, Aurelius Marcianus, have registered (the slave) as above.'

5 f. The slave-sale 1209 (dated to an uncertain year of Gallus) is transacted before the same Antipater; there, as here and in 73 and 3054, the month has a double name, and the writer leaves a blank for the numeral after each element.

6 ἀρχολ[ου]μ(ένου): see 1208 2 note; add 1709 (A.D. 224), 1562 (276/82), 3054 (265), PStrass. 264 (277/82), SB 8971 (late 3rd century). The documents show that the agoranomeion was regularly farmed, as early as 224 and as late as 291, to administrators with this title.

9 Εὐθηροδότ[ε]ι[ο]ς: this must be the correct form, parallel to *Αγαθοδότειος*. 1707 4 prints *Εὐθηροδίου*, which must be a mistake; PSI 464. 4 has only *εὐθ. νί*.

10 δν: the writer forgot to adapt his formula to the feminine.

12 δίπλωμα 'Ελληνικόν: 3054 9 f., PRossGeorg. III 27 (Alex. Severus), PVindBosw. 7. 17 (A.D. 225); δίπλωμα alone BGU 913. 3 (A.D. 206). Of the slave-sales referred to in these five documents, four certainly took place outside Egypt; this fact suggests that PVindBosw. 7. 17 ἐν τοῖς ἔξω τόποις should be interpreted in the same sense. Indeed, we should not expect sales in diploma form in Egypt; whereas they are the norm e.g. in Dura Europos.

On diplomata see J. F. Gilliam, *Bonner Jahrb.* 167 (1967) 233 f., *JJP* 16–17 (1971) 65 ff. BGU 913, a slave-sale from Myra in Lycia, describes itself as a diploma, though no trace of a second text remains.

13 *Ἀρρηλία Τριπόλει*: the famous Tripoli in Phoenicia, but I find no other evidence for the title *Aurelia*. The British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins, Phoenicia* (1910), records ample third-century issues up to and including Elagabalus; no title appears beyond *ναυαρχία* (under Elagabalus: pp. 222 ff.), which was already attested under Hadrian by OGI 587. If then an emperor conferred the *Aurelia* after the reign of Elagabalus and before the date of our document, it must have been Alexander Severus. This may be confirmed by a coin in the British Museum (*Cat.* p. 226 no. 139), with the unique inscription *ΤΡΙΠΟ( ) ΜΕΤΡ(opolis) ΡΟΕΝΙ(ciae)*; the image is obscured by double striking and corrosion, but doubtfully identified as Alexander Severus.<sup>1</sup>

For the process we may compare the elevation of Sidon to colonial status by Elagabalus: its new title is *Colonia Aurelia Pia Metropolis Sidon*. Alexander Severus showed himself active in the province, perhaps because he passed through on the way to the Parthian front; he certainly restored the title *Metropolis* to Tyre, and conferred it on Caesarea Maritima (see Kadman, *Corp. Numm. Pal.* II p. 24, IV p. 24). Tripoli perhaps benefited from the same occasion.

14 Δε, των.: apparently Δεγ'τ- or Δετ'τ-; at the end -νος or possibly -νη. E.g. *Δέττωνος*, with *Σιλβανοῦ* as patronymic. But neither *Δέττων* nor *Δέγτων* is attested.

15 *Βαλκαμέαν*: the masculine *Βαλκαμῆς* is quoted from Lidzbarski, *Eph. f. sem. Epigr.* I p. 260.

16 *Μεσοποταμηνήν*: elsewhere the adjective seems to be *Μεσοποταμίτης* or *Μεσοποτάμιος*.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Martin Price has been kind enough to inspect the coin, which is still unique in the British Museum collection. He confirms the reading of the legend; and adds (a) that ]CAES[EV]ALEX[ is a possible reading of the obverse; (b) that neither the profile nor the general style of the coin really compares with at least the commoner types of Caracalla and Elagabalus.

17 ἀπό καταπλοῦ: see Wegener, *JJP* 9–10 (1955–6) 102.

19 *ἄκατος Οὐρανία*: the letters are certain, except for *ς* (but if it is *υ*, the final stroke is much less extended than one would expect). It would be natural to take *Οὐρανία* as the ensign of the boat, as e.g. Thalia in PTeht. 486. But this is not a meaning which *ἄκατος* ever has (*παράσημον, ἐπίσημον*). Are the two nominatives a shorthand description of the boat by type and by ensign?

## 3054. REGISTRATION OF SALE OF SLAVE

19 2B.74/B (a)

11.5 × 16.3 cm.

26 May/ 24 June 265?

A registration of the same form as 3053. The back was reused for a private letter from Apollonius to Sarapammon (printed below as 3066); the address of the letter appears in the left margin of the registration.

The registrant comes from Bostra, capital of the province of Arabia. The sale had taken place in Bostra; and details are given of three successive previous owners; to the earliest of these the slave had belonged by birth. We learn incidentally some new facts about the constitution of Bostra and the nomenclature of its citizens; Septimius Severus (24) is particularly tantalizing. Unfortunately the papyrus is badly damaged, so that the reading is often in doubt. I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Rea and Dr. John Shelton for their help.

- ἔτους ιβ' Ἀυτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Πονηλίου Δικηνίου (Γαλλινοῦ)  
 Γερμανικοῦ Μεγίστου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ  
 Λύου (vac.) Παῦνι (vac.) ἐν Ὁξυρύγχων πόλει διὰ Ἀρρη-  
 λίου Σερηνοθέωνος ἀρχολομένου ὠνήν ἀγορ(ανομείου).  
 5 ἀπεγράψατο τῇ ἐνεστῶσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ἀρρηλία . . . τις  
 Σίμωνος ἀπὸ Βόστρας τῆς Κυρίας φυλῆς Ἀν[. . .  
 ὡς (ἐτῶν?) . . . . . ὄν ἐδήλο]ν δι' οὗ ἐπέδωκε[εν ὑ-  
 πομνήμ[ατο]ς καὶ ἦ[ς πεποι]ηται χειρογραφίας ὑπάρ-  
 χειν αὐτῷ ἀ[γ]ορασθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ δίπλωμα  
 10 Ἑλληνικὸν γεγόμενον ἐν Βόστρᾳ ἐπὶ ὑπάτων  
 Ἀλβεῖνου τὸ [β]' καὶ Δέκτρο[v] εἰδ[ο]ίς Φεβραρίαις πα-  
 ρὰ Ἀρρηλίου ἐργία Ἰουλιαν[ο]ῦ Μαξίμου βουλευτοῦ  
 . . . . . οῦ φυλῆς Ρωμ. . . . . ας δοῦλον ὀνό-  
 ματι Προκόπτοντα ὑστερ . . . . . σθεντα  
 15 Ἄπτον ὡς (ἐτῶν) β' λευκόχρουν ὑποπλατυπρόσω-  
 πον ἀρεόφρυν κονδόρεινα οὐλαὶ μετώπῳ  
 καὶ ὀφρύει καὶ CIAΓΟΝΕΙ Εὐωνύμοις παράστραβ(ο)  
 ὠνηθέντα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ κατ' ὠνήν

20 *τελειωθείσαν διὰ δημοσίῳ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει*  
*τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει μηνὶ Δίῳ παρὰ . . . . . ἰδδαθ.*  
*μολ. ανου βουλευτοῦ δι. . . . . ος γενομέ[ν]ου*  
*ἐν φυλῇ Διός, καὶ αυ. . . . . αμεν. [.] κατ'*  
*ὠνήν δι. . . . . η πόλει δημ[ο]σίω(ν)*  
 25 *παρὰ] Σεπτιμίας Ε. . . . . γας Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου*  
*. . . . . ] . . . . . τα αυ. . . . . ογενη εκ. . . . . ρι*  
*. . . . . ] λης νομ[.] . . . . . ομ. . . . . α. . . . . ] . . . . .*

4 *αγορῆ*      15 *λευκόχρων*      16 *ἀραιόφρων*      17 *-στραβῶ*      18 *κατ'*      20 *ἰδ'δαθ.*  
 22 *κατ'*      23 *δημοσιῶ*

'Year 12 of Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Germanicus Maximus Pius Felix Augustus, Lous , Payni , in the city of the Oxyrhynchi, through Aurelius Serenotheon who has in charge the farm of the agoranomeion. Aurelia . . . , daughter of Simon, from Bostra in Syria, of the tribe . . . , . . . , registered on the present day the slave whom she declared in the memorandum she submitted and the written oath she made to belong to him (?), purchased by him (?) under a Greek contract made at Bostra on the Ides of February in the consulship of Albinus for the second time and Dexter from Aurelius Julianus Maximus, *tribu Sergia* (?), . . . senator . . . of the tribe *Romana* (?)—the slave Prokopton by name, afterwards renamed (?) Aptus, aged about . . . , white skin, slightly flat faced, scanty eyebrows, short nose, scars on the left forehead and eyebrow and jawbone, slight squint—bought by Julianus himself under a sale transacted through the public record office in the said city in the said year in the month Dios (from?) . . . Molianus, senator for ever (?) (and?) formerly in the tribe of Zeus, who had himself bought (him) under a sale (transacted) though the public records (?) in the said city from Septimia . . . daughter of Septimius Severus . . . belonging to her as born in her house, the child of . . . (?)'

1 *ἔτους* *ιβ*: the top and foot of a long vertical, which I take to be *ι*; then the straight right side of a letter, suitable for *β* or *η*. We have a *terminus post* in line 11: 13 February A.D. 263. Only one suitable year offers before Constantine, i.e. 12 Gallienus = 264/5. The difficulty lies in the reading of the name. *Προπλίον* is very satisfactory; so is *πριον*. But *Αικ* is dubious, with unexplained ink below the putative *ι*. And the space certainly excludes *Γαλλινοῦ*.

3 After each month name, a blank space for the numeral.

5 *Ἀύρηλία* . . . *τις*: *-ία* seems clear. But nothing is said of a guardian, whether acting or dispensed with; and the pronouns are masculine in 9. The second name begins with *κ* or *ν*.

6 *φυλῆς Αυ.*: for the genitive cf. 13. Tribal organization at Bostra was already attested by IGR III 1276 *ἐπισκοπούσης φυλῆς Σομαθηνῶν* and 1277 *ἐπισκοπούτων βουλευτῶν φυλῆς Βιταινηνῶν*.

*Αυ.*: the trace looks most like a high arc (left side of *ο* or top half of *ε*, for example); but it's very uncertain. It is not clear what sort of name to expect: the inscriptional tribes are named from clans or families (A. H. M. Jones, *CERP* 293); but 3054 has *φυλῆ Ρωμ.* *α* in 13 and *φυλῆ Διός* in 22. (Exactly these three types in Asia Minor: Levick, *Anat. Stud.* 15 (1965) 56 n. 42.) The word may continue into the next line.

7 The parallels (73 12, 3053 9) give the age and description of the registrant, then *ἐν ἀγυῆ*. The reconstruction depends on the trace after *ωσ*. I have taken it as a year sign, though it is not so extended as in 15. But only the flat base is at all clear. Otherwise *-ωσ* might belong to line 6.

11 13 February A.D. 263.

12 *εργια*: there are two traces: a high point on the edge of the break, and a horizontal joining *ε* at its mid point. (a) The seller is called simply Julianus in 18. Even so *εργια(ε)* might be part of his

full name. But I have found no suitable name attested. (b) *ζεργία* might be this citizen's Roman tribe. We have to take the high trace as the end of the *υ* preceding, which has then to be unusually wide; or else as the bottom angle of [*β*] above. This seems to be the better solution.

13 *φυλῆς* is the firm point. What follows is its name. I am inclined to read *Ρωμαίῆς*: cf. a local *Tribus Romana* at Pisidian Antioch, *Anat. Studies* 15 (1965) 54. Dr. Shelton suggests instead *Ρωμιλίῆς* (the Roman tribe *Romilia*); this may be right; but the difficult trace looks more like the loop of *α* than the angle of *λ*.

At the beginning *γεν* is suggested: some form of *γενόμενος*?

14 *Προκόπτοντα*: I have not found the name attested, but it's clearly suitable to be translated *Aptus* (15). The rest of the line will mean 'afterwards renamed'. *ὑστερον* might be possible, but not *ὑστερον* *δέ*. *ἐπικληθέντα* and *μετονομασθέντα* will not fit.

15 *ὡς (ἐτῶν)* *β*: of *β* only the upper loop. The horizontal before it looks most like part of the year-sign. But 2 years is not a plausible age for a slave so often sold. Just possibly *μβ*.

16 *ἀραιόφρων*: new. Cf. Moeris p. 214. 9 Bekker: *ψεδνός Ἀττικοί, ἀραιόθριξ Ἑλληνες*.

*κονδόρενα*: new, but cf. *κοντό(ρ)ρινος* quoted by LSJ Suppl. from *Cat. Cod. Astr.* 7. 202. 7. This is notable. *κοντό(ρ)κονδός*, well established in Modern Greek, does not appear at all in the papyrus documents. For its history see Hatzidakis, *Festschr. Kretschmer* 35 ff.

20 ff. I assume that two further owners are mentioned: hence *παρὰ* (doubtfully read) in 20 and again (restored) in 24. In 22 we might read accordingly *καὶ αὐτῷ ὠνησαμένῳ[υ]*.

20-1 The traces at the end of 20 are too slight to show whether the name spilled over into 21. *Μολλ[ι]ανῶ* is a barely possible reading.

21 *δε. . . ος*: Perhaps *διὰ αἰ[ῶ]νος* (*αι[* at least is very plausible). It is the more difficult because the formula of tribe here used differs from those in 12 f. and 6 f. *γενομένου* should look forward. But how had he ceased to belong to the Tribe of Zeus? and why *ἐν* rather than the genitive?

23 As sense, *διὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει* would be attractive, though the space is short for *αὐτῇ*.

24 *Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου*: nothing that is known of the emperor's relations suggests that one of them operated at Bostra: see A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus* 293 ff.

25 Possibly *ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῇ οἰκογενῆ*. But the *η* of *αὐτῇ* is difficult. *εκ* may introduce the name of the slave's mother (or parents).

26 I make nothing of this, though the traces are substantial enough to check a guess.

### 3055-3056. ORDERS TO SUPPLY

These two pieces come from the same layer of papyri, and no doubt were found together. Both are addressed to an Ammonius, and dated in Phamenoth of a first year; both order Ammonius to supply eggs.

Chits of this kind are common: see 1568 and 2139, and the poulterer's archive (fifty-two ostraca) published by Boyaval in *BIFAO* 63 (1965) 50 ff. and reprinted as SB 10270.

The interest of 3055 lies in its date: *Λ α' Διοκλήτος, Φαμενότ ια*. This is evidence for Diocletian's name; and for the date at which he was recognized in Egypt.

Literary sources say that the emperor was called Diocles before his accession: *Epit. de Caes.* 39. 1, Lactantius, *de M. P.* 9. 11 and 19. 5. Lactantius uses the name from time to time in his narrative of the reign (ib. 29. 2, 37. 3, 52. 3); Libanius also uses it, no doubt with deliberate contempt, in recalling Diocletian's injustice to his own ancestors (*Or.* 19. 45 f.). But no document, so far as I know, has any form but *Διοκλητιανός*.

Diocletian dated his accession from 20 November 284 (PBeattyPanop. 2. 162-4). But Egyptian datings from his first year are very rare. Vandersleyen (*Chronologie des préfets de l'Égypte* 33 ff.) concluded that Diocletian may not have been recognized in Egypt until late in his first year—perhaps not until the middle of 285, when news arrived of the battle of Margus and the murder of Carinus. The texts so far available might have justified the conclusion. The last Egyptian date of Carinus is of Mesore, year 2 = August 284 (SB 6597); a year 3 (beginning 29 August 284) is mentioned in 2338 52. Diocletian's year 1 appears at 2338 49 and 2872 6; but the first precise<sup>1</sup> date is Tybi 4, year 2 = 30 December 285 (SB 7443). Only one document offers an earlier fixed point: PMichaelidae 21. 12-14, dated Mecheir 16, year 1 = 10 February 285. But the printed text presents oddities which led Vandersleyen to discount this evidence.

3055 now settles the point. Diocletian had been recognized in Egypt by 7 March 285 (we can hardly suppose that such a trivial document would have been back-dated). Whatever the run of events, then, the battle of Margus was not the decisive moment.

Another, but insoluble, problem arises. Should we deduce from 3055 that Diocles was the emperor's official name even at this date? If PMichael. 21 is correctly read and dated, the supposition is untenable: Διοκλητιανός is already part of the titulature nearly a month earlier than our document. If not, it is open to guess that the emperor adopted the more sonorous name at some time after his accession, perhaps with the defeat of Carinus. This at least can be said: the use of Διοκλῆς here might well be an individual ineptness rather than official practice; but the new emperor's name had certainly reached Melas or his clerk in Oxyrhynchus in the form which we have known so far only from hostile literary sources.

## 3055

22 3B.15/G (4-7) b

8 × 8 cm.

Plate VII  
7 March 285

→ π(αρά) Μέλανος γράμμ[ατέ]ως  
 Ἀμμωνίῳ ὀρνιθῶ χαίρειν.  
 δὸς Ἀμμωνι φύλακει  
 ὥστε εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν  
 5 τῆ[ς] οἰκίας ᾧ δέκ[α]  
 γί(νονται) ᾧ ἄ ι.

(ἔτους) α Διοκλήτος  
 Φαμενώτ ια.

<sup>1</sup> OMich. 408 concerns produce of the first year of Diocletian, but carries no date. 2228 41 refers to a second year; it might be that of Diocletian (3 September 285), but see *BASP* 6 (1969) 36 f.

1 π' 4 ὑπ- 6 Γ† Back: three smudged lines across the fibres

'From Melas the secretary to Ammonius the chicken-man, greetings. Give Ammon the guard, for domestic supplies, ten eggs, that makes 10 eggs. Year 1 of Diocles, Phamenoth 11.'

## 3056

22 3B.15/G (4-7) c

10.7 × 7.5 cm.

284/5

↓ π(αρά) Ἀμμωνος Ἀμμωνίῳ χ[αίρειν].  
 δὸς εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ π[  
 ὀρνίθιον ἐν καὶ ᾧ δέκα γ(ίνονται) .[  
 (ἔτους) α Φαμε[νώ]θ [

1 π' 3 / Back: blank

'From Ammon to Ammonius, greetings. Give, as supplies for . . ., one chicken and ten eggs, that makes . . . Year 1, Phamenoth . . .'

3 .[ : the tall straight trace suggests γ(ίνονται) ι [ rather than δ[ορνίθιον].  
 4 (ἔτους) α: of Diocletian, given the close connection with 3055.

## V. PRIVATE LETTERS

## 3057. LETTER OF AMMONIUS

27 3B.43/F (5-7) a

13.5 × 23.4 cm.

First/second century

This letter is written on a substantial sheet cut from a roll (a heavy *kollesis* can be seen to the right). A single hand, neat and semi-literary, wrote both text and greeting; characteristic letters are *a*, sometimes angular and sometimes rounded, *μ* in three movements, *π* with a strongly curved right side, *ν* as a wide 'v'. This sort of script should belong to the late first or earlier second century: Schubart *Pal. Abb.* 79, which is similar though more carelessly written, dates to A.D. 94.

The writer encourages his brethren to amity, alludes to external enemies, looks forward with ragged nerves to future ordeals: many hints, small information. If the hand is rightly dated, it would be temerarious to look for a Christian context (15 ff. n.).

→ Ἀμμώνιος Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ  
ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
ἐκομισάμην τὴν κεχιασμένην ἐπιστολὴν  
καὶ τὴν ἱματοφορίδα καὶ τοὺς φαινόλας καὶ τὰς  
5 κύριγγας οὐ καλὰς, τοὺς δὲ φαινόλας οὐχ ὡς  
παλαιοὺς ἔλαβον ἀλλ' εἴ τι μεῖζόν ἐστιν και-  
νῶν διὰ προαίρεσιν· οὐ θέλω δέ σε, ἀδελφε, βα-  
ρύνειν με ταῖς συνεχέσ[ε]σι φιλανθρωπίαις,  
'...' οὐ δυνάμενον ἀμεύσασθαι, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον  
10 ἡμεῖς προαίρεσιν φιλικῆς διαθέσεως νομί-  
ζομεν παρεστακέσαι σοι. παρακαλῶ  
δέ σε, ἀδελφε, μηκέτι λόγον ποιεῖσθαι πε-  
ρὶ τῆς κλειδὸς τῆς μονοχώρου. οὐ γὰρ θέ-  
λω ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἕνεκα ἐμοῦ ἢ ἄλ-  
15 λου διαφορὰν τινα ἔχειν· ὁμόνοιαν γὰρ καὶ  
φιλαλλη[λ]ῶν εὐχομαι ἐν ὑμῶν διαμένειν  
ἔν' ἦτε ἀκαταλήρητοι καὶ μὴ [ἦτε] ὁμοιοί  
ἡμεῖν. ἡ γὰρ πείρα ἐπάγεταιί με προτρέψασ-  
θαι ὑμᾶς εἰρηνεύειν καὶ μὴ διδόναι ἀφορ-  
20 μὰς ἑτέροις καθ' ὑμῶν· πείρασαι οὖν καὶ δι'  
ἐμὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν, χαρισάμενός μοι ὁ με-

τοξὺ ἐπιγνώσῃ ἀγαθόν. τὰ ἔρια ἂν ἦς εἰλη-  
φῶς παρὰ Καλβίου πλήρη καὶ ἦ σοι ἀρε-  
τά, ἀντίγραβόν μοι· γελοῖα δέ σοι γέγραφα  
25 διὰ τῆς προτέρας ἐπιστολῆς, ἃ παραδέξῃ·  
ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ ἀνειμένη γέινεται, ὅταν τὸ  
σὸν ὄνομα παρῇ, καὶ ταῦτα οὐχ ἔθος ἐχού-  
σης ἡρεμεῖν διὰ τὰ ἐπερχόμενα· ἀλλ' ὑπο-  
φέρει Λεωνᾶς· ἀσπάζομαι σε, δέσποτα, καὶ τοῦς  
30 σ[ο]ὺς πάντας· ἔρρωσο, τρεμμώτατε.

(Back →) Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀπολλω( ) ἐπισκέπ(τη) ἀδε(λφῶ).

11 -ζομεν corr. from -ζομεν 17 [ἦτε]: ἦτέ pap. 27 ὄνομα: corr. from ὀνομα 30 τρε-  
μώτατε: τει corrected 31 ἀπολλω ἐπισκεῖ αδ<sup>ε</sup>

'Ammonius to Apollonius his brother, greetings. I received the crossed letter and the portmanteau and the cloaks and the reeds, not good ones—the cloaks I received not as old ones, but as better than new if that's possible, because of the spirit (in which they were given). But I don't want you, brother, to load me with these continual kindnesses, since I can't repay them—the only thing we suppose ourselves to have offered you is (our) feelings of friendship. Please, brother, don't concern yourself further with the key of the single room: I don't want you, my brothers, to quarrel for my sake or for anyone else's; indeed I pray for concord and mutual affection to maintain itself in you, so that you can be beyond the reach of gossip and not be like us: experience leads me to urge you to live at peace and not to give others a handle against you. So try and do this for my sake too—a favour to me, which in the interim you'll come to recognize as advantageous (to you as well). If you've received the wool from Salvius to the full amount, and if it's satisfactory, write back to me. I wrote you silly things in my previous letter, which you'll discount: the fact is my spirit relaxes when your name is there—and this though it has no habit of tranquillity, because of its pressing troubles. Well, Leonas bears up (?). My best wishes to you, master, and all your people. Good health, most honoured friend.  
(Address) To Apollonius . . ., surveyor, his brother.'

2 χαίρειν: a horizontal bar is written above χ. Did the writer intend χ(αίρειν), and then decide to complete the word? 15 ff. n.

3 κεχιασμένην: the word is usually applied to contracts crossed out εἰς ἀκύρωσιν (PYale 63, 11 n.). Alternatively it might mean 'marked with an X' (LSJ s.v. II i; Eusebius, *VC* 1. 31 *χιαζομένου τοῦ ῥῶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον*). I don't see why the letter should have been crossed out; or why ἐπιστολή is used, if the document concerned was a contract. Some letters have X midway in the address, to mark a place for the fastening; but the usage should be too common for comment. Some documents use X's to fill a blank line-end, as a precaution against unauthorized additions (2576 4-5 n.); but it is an odd precaution for a private letter. For a more dubious explanation, see 15 ff. n.

4-5 τὰς κύριγγας οὐ καλὰς: κύριγγας for κύ[ρ]ριγγας, by analogy with compounds in *κυρ-ρ*? Perhaps they are recls of thread, see 2593 6 n. οὐ καλὰς hardly suits so tactful a letter; the writer probably intended κύριγγά[ς] σου.

9 '...': the last trace stands above *hypsilon* of οὐ; the first, in the left margin, descends halfway to line level. Neither ἄτε (Rea) nor μὴ is a quite satisfactory reading.

13 μονοχώρου: two late house-leases use the word in this sense: 1957 12 f. ἐν το ἐθρίου (l. πῶ ἀθρίω) μονόχ[ωρον] ἐν χρηστηρίοις; 1964 ὀλόκληρον μονόχωρον τυγχάνον [ὑ]ποκάτω τῆς ἀ[ψ]ιδος. Cf. the use of δίχωρος in PCairMasp. 340 verso 41; *CGL* s.v. *τρίχωρον tres cameras sive tres absidas*. Latin *trichorum*,

which is already used by Statius, is alleged to mean 'room with three semi-circular niches', see Pauly-Wissowa s.v.

15 ff. Ammonius and Apollonius belong to a group of 'brothers', threatened by internal quarrels and exposed to attack from outside; for Ammonius at least the future is black (28). A Christian context would be possible: Nilus Ancyranus uses the same words, *PG* 79. 144A (τί . . . ἀγαπᾷ τὸ θεῖον πνεῦμα ἢ τὴν . . . ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὴν φιλαλληλίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν); the burden is much the same in *I Clement*, an epistle *περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας* to the warring church of Corinth (47. 7 καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀκοή οὐ μόνον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐχώρησεν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἑτεροκλινεῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, ὥστε καὶ βλασφημίας ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι Κυρίου διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφροσύνην, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ κίνδυνον ἐπεξεργάζεσθαι).

If a Christian context were posited, it would be tempting to equate ἕτεροι (20) with Clement's ἑτεροκλινεῖς; and to interpret the 'crossed' letter (3) as 'marked with the sign of the cross', compare the curious overlined χ in line 2.

This hypothesis crumbles easily. (a) The sentiments are likely to have a wide distribution; cf. the equally cryptic PMerton III 115. (b) Only violence will produce a reference to the σταυρός in line 3. (c) The date is against it. Note that ἐπικόπ(ω) cannot be read in 31.

17 ἀκαταλήρητοι: a new word. καταληρεῖν in the lexica has the meaning 'bore with talking'. For the sense 'talk down' cf. καταλαλεῖν; and κατακράζειν PFouad 87. 11.

28 f. ἀλ(λ) ὑποφέρει Λεωνᾶς: of φ only the left-hand arc remains; otherwise the letters are certain. The version printed assumes that λεωνας is a proper name. ὑποφέρειν normally means 'endure', with an accusative of the disaster; this might be supplied from ἐπερχόμενα. A remoter alternative might be 'brings (them) upon (me)', cf. 488 19 οὐκ ὀλίγην βλάβην ὑποφέρει με (1. μοι). Or again, 'brings (me) down' (see Lampe, *PGL* s.v.). I can do nothing with ἀλυπος or ἀλυπο-. Even the punctuation is not certain. Dr. Rea suggests a stop before Λεωνᾶς: an additional greeting from some other person, perhaps from the scribe himself.

31 Ἀπολλω( ): Ἀπολλω(νίου)? Ἀπολλω(νοπολίτη)?

## 3058. LETTER OF FLAVIUS TO MORUS

26 3B.52/D (4-6) a

12 × 22 cm.

Second century

A business letter of little interest. The writing is a practised cursive, with many letters corrected or overwritten. The back is blank, except for an ink line ruled parallel with the greater dimension, and a cross mark.

→ Φλαύιος Μώρω τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.  
 ἐπὶ ἐταξάμην τῷ κοινωμῷ μου  
 σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναβῆναι ἕνεκα τῶν  
 μετεώρων ἡμῶν, ἔτυχέν μοι ὀφθαλ-  
 5 μιᾶσαι. διὰ τούτου οὐκ ἀνέβην·  
 εἰς οὐδὲν ἀναβῆναι ὁ κοινωμός μου,  
 γενοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀπολ-  
 λώνιον τὸν γραμ(μ)ατέα ἡμῶν  
 καὶ ἀπάρτισαι τὰ ζητούμενα  
 10 πρὸς ἡμᾶς· γενοῦ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖν  
 τὸν ἀρχέφοδον καὶ ἐπίγνωτι ἢ ἔδω-

κε τὰς τρεῖς μνᾶς τῷ τὸν σειτικόν·  
 εἰς μὴ ἦν δεδοκῶς, ἀπήταισον  
 τὸν Πτολεμαῖ(ν) τὴν μ(ν)ᾶ(ν) ε' οὐ' ἕως οὐδὲν  
 15 ἀναβῶ, ἔρρωσο.

ὑπέταξά σοι τοκαταμαρα τοῦ  
 πυροῦ· ἔστι δέ· ἐν μὲν οἰκίᾳ  
 Ἀμεινέως ἀλλητοῦ (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) φη  
 ἐν δὲ Σαραπάτος οἰκίᾳ (ἀρτ.) υπ  
 20 καὶ παρὰ Εὐανγέλλ' οὐ [ἐνχειρ. παθε] . . .  
 (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ζυ] καὶ ἐν δημοσίοις θησαυροῖς  
 τὸ λείπον.

2 1. ἐπεὶ 4 χ of ετυχεν corr. 7 συ(ν) corr. 11 η corr. 1. ἐπίγνωθι εἰ 12 (τ)ο  
 corr. 13 1. ἦ δεδωκῶς ἀπαίτησον 14 (ο)ν corr. 18, 21 ζ -

'Flavius to Morus his brother, greetings. After I arranged with my partner to come up for our business pending, I went and got ophthalmia. This is why I didn't come up. So if my partner comes up, go with him to Apollonius our secretary and settle the matters under dispute with us. Go to Ptolemaeus the policeman and discover whether he's given the three minas to the corn man. If he hasn't given them, dun Ptolemaeus for your mina (?). So, until I come up—good health!

I've subjoined the list (?) for the wheat, as follows: in the house of Ameneus the flute-player, 508 art. of wheat; in the house of Sarapas, 480 art.; from Evangelus . . . and in the public granaries the remainder.'

12 τῷ τὸν σειτικόν: sc. ἀπαιτοῦντι?

14 The papyrus has τονπ[ρ]τολεμαίτημαζέωσο[. . .]υγ. The emended text printed does at least harmonize with line 12.

15 The writer seems to have combined the abbreviation ερρ- with the full form ερρωσο.

16 τοκαταμαρα: he must have intended τὸ κατ' ἀνδρα. Possibly he did in fact write αττρα for ἀνδρα; if so both ν and τ are anomalous. Or κατὰ <κα>μάραν (Turner).

18 ἀλλητοῦ: or possibly Ἀλλητοῦ.

20-21 ἐνχειρ. παθε . . . (πυρ.) (ἀρτ.) ζυ: this phrase is overlined as far as (πυρ.), and underlined up to the end: I have taken this, doubtfully, as a mark of deletion. The first part is difficult. (a) ἐν χειρὶ might be read, then e.g. Παθ . . . c (but neither Παθέως nor Παθείουσι will fit). But one might expect a plural, if the meaning is 'in the keeping of', cf. BGU 844. 8 f., 1095. 12. (b) Some form of ἐγχειρίζειν would suit the sense; but I can find nothing which suits the traces.

## 3059. LETTER OF DIDYME TO APOLLONIUS

20 3B.37/G (1-2) a

11.5 × 7.5 cm.

Second century

A fragmentary letter, remarkable only for the striking metaphor of affection in lines 2-5.

→ Διδύμη Ἀπολλωνίω τῶι ἀδελφῶι (Back →) ἀπὸ Διδύμης  
καὶ ἡλίω χαίρειν.  
γείνωσκέ με μὴ βλέπουσιν τὸν ἥλιον  
διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαι σε ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.  
5 οὐ γὰρ ἔχω ἄλλον ἥλιον εἰ μὴ σέ. εὐ-  
χαριστῶ δὲ Θεωνᾶτι τῶ ἀδελφῶ σου  
...].αι ἃ ἔπεμψα τῶ πατρί σου  
...].ο Θεῶνος Ἀθηναίου τοῦ φίλου

'Didyme to Apollonius her brother and sun, greetings. You must know that I do not view the sun, because you are out of my view; for I have no sun but you. I am grateful to your brother Theonas. (Take delivery of?) what I have sent to your father . . . Theon son of Athenaeus your friend . . .'

1 Above this line is a single sign, approximately centred, in shape like a thickly written cursive beta.

2 ἡλίω: the nearest parallel I have found is in Galen (xix 68o K), who addresses a friend as ἡλιε τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς.

7-8 The writer tends to divide words; there are slight spaces to suggest the articulation after ].αι and ].ο. In 7 perhaps κόμ]σαι.

## 3060. LETTER OF PTOLEMAEUS TO HORIS

22 3B.20/A (3-4) a

15.8 × 22.2 cm.

Second century

This letter is largely taken up with the usual catalogue of goods received; the asyndetic sentences are uncompromisingly businesslike. There are a few points of lexical interest. The hand is of the earlier second century.

→ Πτολεμα[ι]ος Ὠρεῖτι [τῶ] ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν.  
έκομι[σά]μην ἐφίππι[ον] παρὰ Ζαραπάτος καὶ  
σύνθε[σι]ν Σπανῆν ἡ[μ]τριβῆν [τεθ]εραπευμένην  
καὶ ἐπικ[ά]ρσιον ὁμοίως ἡμ[τ]ριβῆν καὶ τῶ παιδί μου  
5 κουκκ[.]λον πορφυροῦν ἀγναφον καὶ ἄ[λ]λο χιτώ-  
νιον ζμαράγδινον [π]άντα ἐν ἰλήματι καινῶ  
λεντίῳ καὶ κανίσκ[ι]ον ὑελοῦν καὶ κεράμιον τα-

ραχίων καὶ κραβάτην καὶ κασιτερνα [.].γ.ατρια  
ἐν καλωδίῳ . . . α .ν.αικεια δ χιτώνιον λευκὸν  
10 παιδικὸν καὶ κάμπτραν καὶ βράβδον· οὐκ ἐκο-  
μισάμην τὴν μνᾶν τοῦ ἐριδίου τοῦ λωδίνου·  
πέμψον Τρύφωνα ἢ τὴν κυρίαν ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς  
με ὑπηρετεῖ. [[δεδωκας]] ὑποτέθειμαι τὰ ἱμά-  
τια τὰ λευκὰ ἔνεκα τιμῆς ζίτου ἵνα φάγωμεν.  
15 ἐρρώσθαι σε εὐχομαι.  
κέχηρμαι παρὰ Τρύφωνος δραχμὰς ὀκτώ.

(Back →) ἀπόδος Ὠρεῖτι ἀπὸ Πτολεμα[[λεμ]]ίου ἀδελφοῦ . . . .

3, 4 1. ἡμ[τ]ριβῆ 13 ὑπηρετεῖ ἱμα-

'Ptolemaeus to Horis his brother, greetings. I have received a saddle-cloth from Sarapas, and a Spanish outfit, half-worn and repaired, and a striped (?) garment, likewise half-worn, and for my boy a purple hood, unfulled, and another tunic, emerald-green—all in a new linen wrapping; and a glass basket and a jar of pickled fish and a mattress and . . . tin . . . in . . . a child's white tunic and a chest and a rod. I have not received the mina of lotus-coloured (?) wool. Send Tryphon or the mistress, since the master himself is helping me. I have pawned the white cloaks for the price of corn so that we can eat. I pray for your health. I have borrowed eight drachmas from Tryphon.'

(Address) 'Deliver to Horis from Ptolemaeus his brother . . .'

5 κουκκ[.]λον: Latin *cucullus*; the diminutive *κουκκούλιον* is known elsewhere (PMich. 482. 4 and n.). The expected spelling would be *κούκκ[ου]λον* but the space seems to allow only one letter in the lacuna.

6-7 ἐν ἰλήματι καινῶ λεντίῳ: if the readings are right, *λεντίῳ* must be an adjective (*linteo*); elsewhere in the papyri the word is always neuter as a noun. For *εἰλημα*, in the sense of 'wrapping', LSJ cites the unidentified Ionic writer *ap. Stobaeus* 3. 28. 21 (p. 624 l. 13 Wachsmuth); add Epiphanius, *haer.* 42. 11; *CGL* εἶλημα . . . *volucrum* . . .

8 κραβάτην, if correct, must be for *κραβάτιον*. In what follows, the most likely division is *κασ<σ>ιτέρινα* [.].γ.α τρία; of the middle word I can make nothing, indeed the second element of the group which I have read as γ. looks like nothing at all in this hand. Granted that τρία is the numeral, the next word will be ἐν and not ἐν. *καλωδίῳ* should refer to a container or wrapping (the letters are certain, except the final ω, which is overwritten, or perhaps intersected by an extended horizontal from the next letter). *καλώτιον* with τ appears three times in papyri: 920 5 in a list of foodstuffs; PRyl. 172. 15 *καλώτια δώδεκα* as part of the rent-in-kind of a palm-grove; SB I 1. 25 *ρίζα δύο καλωτίων ἢ λαβῶν καὶ ρί[. . . κ]ορακίων*; perhaps also OTait P. 295. 9 (*BL* iii 270) *καλοῦσιν βράκανον*. It is tempting to understand the word as a foodstuff produced in palm-groves. But this hardly suits SB 1, where the context is all objects and implements. There is moreover a similar word *καλούσιον* (-ώσιον PCZ I 59-014 b 11) which clearly refers to some kind of container: of wine PCZ IV 59-698. 33 etc., of meat PCZ I 59-012. 44 and PSI 428. 55. (All these come from the Zenon archive.) 'Jar' would fit our text; and indeed OTait P. 295, if *βρακάνον* (for -ων) is a right conjecture. But I cannot reconcile the other instances.

9 . . . α .ν.αικεια: *γυναικεῖα* is almost irresistible, but I cannot make the traces into a ν; before it possibly *πάλ[λ]ια*. The apparent absence of connective *καί* before the two items in 9 is odd: so there may be some basic flaw in the reading.

11 λωδίνου: there is a trace between ο and ν, which I have taken to be accidental. ν seems to be certain; not *λωδικίου*. The writer presumably intended *λωτίου*: lotus-coloured?

## 3061-3062. LETTERS TO ARCHELAUS

33 4B.82/F (1-3) a-b

3061. 12 × 18.8 cm.  
3062. 8.7 × 30 cm.

First century

These two letters come from the same layer of papyri, and were presumably found together; this suggests that the Archelaus addressed is the same in both. Archelaus served at some time as secretary to the strategus of the Panopolite (3062 17 f.); one friend was secretary to an *εἰσαγωγεὺς* (15). He moved, that is, in official circles; and so knew how to obtain a policeman and an order to arrest (3061 9). For the rest, his correspondents deal in commonplace private business. The interest of the letters is in the view they give of the world of petty bureaucrats; the contempt for 'Egyptians', 3061 13, continues the tradition of Theocritus 15. 48 and anticipates 1681 and PGiss. 40 ii 28 f.

To judge from the hands, this correspondence belongs to the period Claudius-Vespasian.

## 3061

→ Ἡρακλᾶς Ἀρχελάωι τῶι υἱῶι  
χαίρειν.  
κόμισαι διὰ Πασηέου τὸ δελ-  
φάκ[ιον] καὶ ψιαθ[.....].  
5 [[κυθρα]] ἄβακαλ(ίω) μόςχια κρέα εἰ καὶ  
ἡψη(μνη)μένα ἐν χάρτη ἀριθ(μῶ) 5  
καὶ ἐν χειλώματι κριθῆς χ(οίνικας) δ.  
καλῶς ποιήσεις πέμψας μοι  
ἐρημοφύλακα σὺν διπλώματι  
10 ἐπὶ Λαστᾶν Θώνιος ἀπὸ Τήεως,  
ἐπεὶ ὕβριν μοι οὐ μεικρὰν  
παρέσχεν. ὄρα σὺν μὴ ἀμελή-  
σης. οἶδας γὰρ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπ(τίων).  
ἐάν τινος ἄλλου χρήζης, γρά-  
15 φε. οὐκ ἔπεμψά σοι παλαιὸν κερᾶ(μον)  
μὴ ἀνάγκη περιστῶμεν ἔάν' ἐνθά-  
δε [[εαν]] σὺν τῷ ἐγλογιστῆ παραγε( ).  
ἔρρω(σο).

Left margin 19 ἔγραψε Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολ(εμαίου) "περὶ τοῦ ἐγλογιστοῦ ἐάν τι  
20 ἦν δὴλωσόν [μ]ου".

Back → X Ἀρχελάωι υἱῶι.

5 βαυκα<sup>λ</sup> 1. μόςχια 6 ἀριθ 7 χ<sup>δ</sup> 13 αἰγυ 15 κερ<sup>λ</sup> 17 παραγε<sup>ε</sup> 18 ἐρρω<sup>ω</sup>  
19 πτῶ

'Heraclas to Archelaus his son, greetings. Receive through Pases (?) the piglet and . . . rush-mats . . . five pieces of veal (in?) a pot and boiled pieces in paper 6 in number and 4 choenices of barley in a box. Please send me a desert-guard with an order against Lastas son of Thonis from Teis, since he's offered me considerable violence. Make sure you look after it. You know how the Egyptians are. If you have any other requirement, write. I haven't sent you an old jar (?), in case we should find ourselves in a tight spot if you (?) arrive here with the accountant. Good health!

(margin) Apollonius son of Ptolemaeus has written 'About the accountant, let me know if anything turns up.'

(address) To Archelaus my son.'

3 Πασηέου: η is more probable than ν or υ; μ seems to be excluded by the narrowness of the trace.

4 ψιαθ: ψίαθος or ψιάθιον. The other articles in the list are edible. It may be then that the matting is the wrapping, as for the consignment of meat in PBeattyPanop. 1. 121 f. and 161 f. But the space allows only a numeral, not a defining genitive, given the probable restoration of the next line: e.g. ψιάθ[ους β κα] [ἐν] | βαυκαλ(ίω) μόςχια κρέα ε.

5 [[κυθρα]]: the scribe wrote ἐν κύθρα, then replaced the noun with the more precise βαυκαλίω. κρέα must be joints of meat, as at 2190 63; in pots, as e.g. PRyl. 627. 72 (ἀγγεῖα), 1923 10 (διπλά).

6 An interlinear insertion. The boiled meat was wrapped in papyrus, like the fish of the Roman markets (Parola del Passato 121 (1968) 287). 2571 11 has meat ἐν ἀργυρι. . . ἀρταίς, but the problems of the passage remain unsolved.

8-9 A desert-policeman and an order to arrest: Archelaus could use his position in the office of the strategus, from which such orders usually emanated (PLund VI p. 5); a rather similar proceeding in 2730, which again calls the document διπλωμάτιον. But there is a practical difficulty about this hypothesis. The man to be arrested comes from Teis, which is in the Thmoesepho toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite; but it is the strategus of the Panopolite to whom Archelaus is attached in 3062 17, and the Panopolite village of Zmis where he is to be found (ib. 4). It is still possible that his official career gave him special influence in the matter of Lastas; but apparently a different stage of his career from that represented in 3062.

15 κερᾶ(μον) assumes that the hooked stroke above ρ represents alpha. Otherwise κέρ(μα) (Rea) might be read; for mentions of παλαιὸν νόμισμα (all 3rd cent.) see Johnson and West, Currency 68 f.

17 παραγε( ): παραγέ(νη)? or παραγέ(νηται)/-γέ(νωνται)? The situation was perhaps this: Heraclas half-expects someone (the strategus?) to arrive with the eclogistes, i.e. the Alexandrian official who oversaw the nome finances; the better wine has to be reserved for this eventuality. Numerous documents show the eclogistes receiving reports and writing for information and investigation (most recently PPetaus 25). But I have found no other mention of a visit in person. It would obviously be a difficult occasion, and Apollonius (line 19) is accordingly anxious for early warning.

The reading supposes a cursive γ not exemplified elsewhere in this letter. Palaeographically, c would be more plausible; but I don't see what to do with παρὰ cε or παρασε( ).

19-20 ἦν for ἦ, as e.g. PMich. 477. 13, 487. 14, 511. 12, 3058 13. We might put a stop before ἐάν; or better take περὶ τοῦ ἐγλογιστοῦ and all that follows as Apollonius' quoted words.

3062

- *Καραπίων Ἀρχελάω*  
*τῶι ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν.*  
*τὸν ἰστόν τῶν ἐπι-*  
*καρσίων εἰς Ζμεῖνα*  
 5 *ἐκόμισα ὡς καταλαμ-*  
*βάνων ὑμᾶς, καὶ πάν-*  
*τως ἂν σοι πεπόμφειν,*  
*εἰ μὴ Ἑρμῆς μοι ἀ-*  
*πήγγειλε δεδωκέ-*  
 10 *ναι σοι ἕτερα'. οἱ σοὶ πάντες*  
*ἔρρωνται.*  
*εὐχομαί σε ἐρῶσθαι,*  
*ἄδελφε.*  
*(m.2) Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ σὺγγρ( )*  
 15 *Θέωνος εἰσαγωγέως*  
*πολλά σε ἀσπάζομαι.*  
 17 *(Back → m.2?) Ἀρχελάω γραμματεῖ Θεώνο(ς) στρα(τηγοῦ) Πανοπ(ολίτου).*  
 14 *σὺγγρς* 17 *θεων<sup>ο</sup> στρ πανο)*

'Sarapion to Archelaus his brother, greetings. I took the length of transverse fabric to Zmis, assuming that I'd find you there; and I would in any case have sent it to you, but that Hermes reported that he had given you others. All your people are well. I pray for your health, brother. (2nd hd.) I, Apollonius, fellow secretary of Theon the court-clerk, send you many greetings.'  
 (Address) 'To Archelaus, secretary of Theon the strategus of the Panopolite.'

3-4 *τὸν ἰστόν τῶν ἐπικαρσίων*: I take *ἰστόν* to be a 'length' of material, rather than the loom on which material of this kind is woven. Cf. PSI 387. 5 *ἡμιτυβίων ἰστόν*, Ps.-Aristeas 320 (p. 84 Wendland) *βυσσίνων ὀθονίων ἰστοὺς ἑκατόν*, of which the second at least is unambiguous. The noun *ἐπικάρσιον* is glossed *amiculum* in the *CGL*. The basic meaning of the adjective is 'sideways': i.e. 'striped', according to the dictionaries; 'woven on a horizontal loom' (as opposed to *ὀρθοῦσικὰ*), according to POslo II 56. 5 n. If the former, compare the striped stuffs from Dura (*Final Report* IV ii 13).

4 *Ζμεῖνα*: a village in the Panopolite, PCairoMasp. 170 and 171.

14 *σὺγγρ( )*: BGU 451. 14 attests the noun *σὺγγραμματεὺς*; cf. 1427 2 *σὺγγραμ(ματεῦντι)*. If either is the correct resolution here, *σὺν-* must have a rather wide sense: Apollonius and Archelaus are colleagues because both are *γραμματεῖς*, not because they work for the same master.

15 *εἰσαγωγέως*: the prefect had an *εἰσαγωγέως* on his staff, see PHamb. I pp. 78 f. and PStrass. 179. 7 f.; so did *strategi*, cf. PFay. 23 a 3 *γενόμενος γραμματεὺς νομῶν τινῶν ἰδίου λόγου καὶ ἰσαγωγέως στρατηγοῦ Ἀμμωνιακῆς*. The other references specify no employer. It is an easy guess that Theon here was clerk to the strategus Theon of line 17.

3063. LETTER OF DIOGENES TO APOLLOGENES

34 4B.78/D (14)

16 × 25.5 cm.

Second century

A vigorous and literate letter about agricultural matters. The body of the text is written in a back-sloping hand; characteristic forms are ε, η (in the 'h' shape), κ tall and narrow, μ (in three movements), broken τ, wide υ, ω flattened at the base. Some features of this could belong to the first century (e.g. 3051); the general type belongs to the second, compare Schubart, *Pal. Abb.* 35 (Hadrian) and others cited by Cavallo, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) 227 f.; it has been seen as the first stage of the 'Chancery' style. The second hand is more advanced in the same direction: notice the tall, straight-backed ε and c (the cap of c sometimes a separate tick).

The cutting down of vines (3 ff.) was a serious matter; taxes could be reduced on the land (2847 i 5-6). But here apparently the ground was to be sown, not replanted.

The back has been reused for two columns of accounts, largely illegible. I cannot make out the remains of an address among them.

- *Διογένης Ἀπολλογένης τῶι φιλάτῳ*  
*χαίρειν.*  
 .....  
*μυριάκις [γ]εγραφὼς ἐκκόψαι τὰ πρὸς τῷ Φάι*  
*αμπε[...]. ὡς ἔδοξεν Δημητρ[ι]ῳ τῷ γυμνασι-*  
 5 *άρχῳ καὶ Ἀδράστῳ καὶ Κώτῃ πάλιν σου ἔλαβον*  
*ἐπιστολὴν σήμερον πυνθανομένου τί βού-*  
*λομαι γενέσθαι πρὸς ἣν ἀντιγράφῳ ἔκκοψον ἔκκο-*  
*ψον ἔκκοψον ἔκκοψον ἰδοὺ πλειστάκις*  
*λέγω· καὶ σπαρήτῳ οἷς δεῖ γενέσθαι μετὰ τῆς*  
 10 *...[...]. τῆς νῦν ἐν χόρτῳ οὐσῆς ὅταν ὁ χόρ-*  
*τος βρωθῇ ἢ κοπῇ· θαυμάζω εἰ χρεία ἐστὶ τρι-*  
*ῶν ζευγῶν εἰς ἐπαντλησὸν τῆς ἐν Χαλώ-*  
*θει ἀμπέλου εἰς ὀλίγον περιεσταμένης· οὐ γὰρ*  
*τῆς τειμῆς ἐστὶν τοῦ περιεσσοῦ ζεύγους ὡς τῶν*  
 15 *τροφῶν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης δαπάνης· εἰ δέ γε σὺ δο-*  
*κεῖς χρεῖαν εἶναι, διάπεμψαι τὴν ἐπιστολήν*  
*μου εἰς Ὁξυρυγ... πρὸς Καραπίωνα ἣν συνειλη-*  
*...[...]. η, ᾧ δηλώσεις πότερον ἀρσενικὸν*  
*θέλεις [...]. ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρσ[ένων] θη-*  
 20 *λυκῶν .ο...ον δὲ θηλυκοῦ χρεῖαν εχ[...]*  
*ἐλάσσονα (m.2) 'εἴςθι' [[τρ]]. ἐκομίσάμην δε[...]*  
*τὸ κεράμιον τῆς ἐλαίας τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [...]*



γέγρ[α]φα, φύλασσε ἕως ἂν πα[ρ]ὰ σοὶ γένωμαι.

ἔρρωσο φίλτατε

25

Ἀπολλογένη.

ἔρρω(σο). Μεχ(εῖρ) ἰς.

26 ερρ<sup>ω</sup> με<sup>χ</sup>

'Diogenes to Apollogenes his very dear friend, greetings. A thousand times I've written to you to cut down the vines at Phai (?), as Demetrius the gymnasiarch and Adrastus and Sotas decided. But today again I get a letter from you asking what I want done. To which I reply: cut them down, cut them down, cut them down, cut them down, cut them down: there you are, I say it again and again. They are to be sown with what has to go there, along with the . . . which is now under fodder, once the fodder is eaten up or harvested. I find it surprising if it needs three pairs of oxen to water the vineyard at Chalothis, which hasn't come to much. It isn't so much a matter of the cost of the extra pair, as of their feed and the other expenses. But if you do think it's needed, send on my letter to . . . to Sarapion . . . You will inform him whether you want a male . . . a female instead of the males. I must tell you that . . . has (?) less need of the female. (2nd hd.) I received the jar of oil. The other things I've written about, keep them until I join you. Good health, my dear friend Apollogenes. Good health. Mecheir 16.'

1 Ἀπολλογένει satisfies the traces, and is a possible reading of the very cursive line 25. (Not -φανεῖ.) The name does not appear in *NB* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticum* or Pape-Benseler, except that grammarians comment on the formation. But an Arcadian of this name appears in a Delphic inscription of c. 200 B.C. (see *RE* s.v.); another is the apex of an amorous triangle in Aristaenetos, *Ep.* 2. 11.

2 . . . . . : one expects a word here to balance χείρειν; and there are indeed discolorations which might be the traces of c. 6 letters.

3 μυριάκις: not in *WB* or its supplements; but *PSI* 1334. 9 ἐπέσειλά σοι γὰρ μυριαντάκις. It is a rare word in any case; Stephanus quotes among post-classical authors only Archimedes (in the literal sense) and Galen (in the loose sense). The form in -αντάκις is apparently accommodated to numeral forms in -άντα (as in Modern Greek).

τῷ Φάι: the letters seem certain. If this articulation is right, cf. *PSI* 77. 13 (lease from Oxyrhynchus, A.D. 551/65) ἐδάφου Φάει; but clearly the reading is doubtful. Φάνι (2195 113) cannot be read here.

4 ἀμπε[. . .]: the final trace might be the tail of α (ignoring some stray ink after it); perhaps ἀμπε[λι]α, though the diminutive does not occur elsewhere in the papyri. The space is rather short for -[λικ]ά.

9 παρήτω: of τ only the left half of the cross-bar; of ω only something which might be the final upright.

10 The traces at the beginning are minimal. . . [ . . . ]ης τῆς could be read.

14 ἐστιν: the meaning is presumably 'it isn't so much a question of . . .' But I can't find any parallel.

17 Ὀξυρυγχ. . . ν: οξυρυγχον was written; above ο a superscribed ε followed by traces. Presumably he intended Ὀξυρυγχείτην or -τῶν?

17 f. Cf. *POslo* 84. 3 c]υνείλησα τῇ ἐπιστολῇ. It is likely enough that Diogenes enclosed a second letter, to be sent to Sarapion in case of need. The clause ended ]ση or ]τη; before that the preserved strip of papyrus (which should show the lower halves of letters) is blank, for the space of at least three letters. Perhaps then συνείλη[ ]α [ταύ] (vac.) τη. But I should have expected the feet of ταυ to show.

20 I had tried ποτερον δε; but this fails on the ρ (the trace is an unsuitably short and oblique descender). Possibly (a name) δὲ θ. χρεῖαν ἔχε[ιν. ]ρ. κελον suits the traces.

21 e.g. δὲ [καί.

22 e.g. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα [ἀπερ.

24 ff. The hand is much more cursive than in 21-3; but the ink and pen look the same; probably therefore the same writer in a hurry.

## 3064. LETTER OF THEAGENES AND PANECHOTES

4 1B.61/K (b)

9.2 × 10.3 cm.

Third century

This letter is more or less complete except at the foot; the back is blank. The writers address themselves to an unnamed village community. Their communication is in two sections, divided by a blank line-end in 8; in both the subject is liturgies.

Lines 2-7. Representatives of the nome had approached a procurator, complaining that someone had registered them in the city, that is in the metropolis instead of in their own village; the procurator in answer has handed them over to the villagers to do liturgical service. It is a good guess that the aim of the officials (whoever they were) who made these registrations was to increase the number of those liable to metropolitane liturgies. If this is right, 3064 reflects the situation Septimius Severus deals with by enacting μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν κωμητ[ῶν εἰς τὰ]ς μητροπολιτικὰς ἄγεσθαι λειτουργ[γ]είας (*SB* 7696. 83); the continuing tendency leads to the trial before Appius Sabinus, *SB* 7696.

Lines 9-13. This section concerns individuals. Dionysius is perhaps one of those misregistered, the comarch the responsible official; a charge is to be brought in the court of the epistrategus.

The hand is a decent cursive of the second or earlier third century. The mention of a comarch, and the liturgical quarrel, make the third-century date much more likely (10 n.).

→ Θ]ξαγένης καὶ Πανεχώτης τοῖς  
ἀπὸ κώμης χείρειν.  
εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς θέλομεν ὅτι πάντες  
οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ νομοῦ προσῆλθαν τῷ  
5 ἐπιτρόπῳ ἕνεκεν τῶν ἀπογρα-  
ψάντων αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ  
παραδεδωκεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς κωμη-  
ταῖς εἰς λειτουργίαν.  
Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς Παταήσιος  
10 μετέδωκε τῷ κωμάρχη ὡστε  
εἰ]πεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπιστρα-  
τήγ]ου ἕνεκεν τῆς λειτουργίας  
...]. θέλετε ἀνέλθατε (vac.) ... [

3 ὑμας

5 ἐπιτροπω: ω corr. from ου

9 υἱος

'Theagenes and Panechotes to those of the village, greetings. We want you to know that all those from the nome approached the procurator about those who have registered them in the city, and he has handed them over to the villagers for liturgical service.

And Dionysius the son of Patacis has indicated to the comarch that he should speak (?) against him before the epistrategus about the liturgy . . .'

5 f. ἀπογραφάντων αὐτοῖς: the use of the active is striking, and must refer to the officials who made the registration; if the meaning were 'those who have registered themselves', the middle would be required. But who were the officials? and what kind of ἀπογραφή is meant? The appeal against it goes to an ἐπίτροπος: he might be identified with the epistrategus of line 11. Or was it some special procurator?

9 ff. μετέδωκε will mean 'inform', or perhaps 'deliver a summons'. But the rest is ambiguous: αὐτόν might be Dionysius or the comarch; the subject of εἰπεῖν might be Dionysius, the comarch, or the villagers. Easiest perhaps 'Dionysius has informed the comarch that he (the comarch) is to answer him (Dionysius) before the epistrategus in the matter of the liturgy . . .' This fits, given the function of the comarch in submitting nominations for liturgies. But I am not sure that it coheres with the abuses implied in 5-6. If Dionysius is the guilty official, and the comarch is to speak against him, line 9 must be *nominativus pendens*.

10 κωμάρχη: the office survives from the Ptolemaic period for a few years (OFayûm 8 of A.D. 5); then vanishes until the third century. The earliest attestations are: *Oxyrhynchite* A.D. 209/10 (2121 84, where the expansion κωμάρχης is very likely, given the subject of the text), A.D. 247/8 (2123 5); *Heracléopolite* A.D. 223 (PRossGeorg. V 20 R 3-4, as corrected in *BL* iii 158); *Fayûm* A.D. 226/7 (PLond. 1157 R, see for the date *JRS* 57 (1967) 137 n. 29), A.D. 250-253/6 (SB 9408-9, Heroninus Archive); *Marmarica c.* A.D. 204 (PMarm.: for the date see Rea, *Par. del Pass.* 112 (1967) 50-52). (PLond. 1220, of A.D. c. 202-7, has been corrected by Dr. J. D. Thomas. The other items cited by H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* 131 f., are uncertainly dated and sometimes uncertainly read.)

## 3065. LETTER OF ARIUS TO AGRIPPINA AND CORNELIUS

20 3B.36/J (2-3) a

19.8 × 25 cm.

Third century

A substantial sheet, written in a fine large cursive of the third century. It was probably the same hand which wrote, though more hastily, the final greeting (21-3). The letter was folded up, and the address added on each of the two outer surfaces of the packet.

The writer is called Arius, and his brother Stephanus; but the parents he addresses have Roman names, Cornelius and Agrippina. The style of the letter is jerky and repetitious, the grammar vulgar. Either Arius was a better penman than he was composer; or the whole thing was dictated.

The content is tantalizing. Arius is about to make his escape from an embattled city, where unheard-of atrocities have happened, 'not war but man-eating'. The city is down-river from Oxyrhynchus (11). One might guess that it was Alexandria, and derive the letter from the battles which took place there rather frequently in the third century—the massacre under Caracalla (215), the contest between Macrinus and Elagabalus, the rising of Macrianus and Quietus, the Palmyrene wars, the revolt of Domitius Domitianus—or the incidental civil wars and pogroms. I see no way of choosing among these, except that the hand suggests the earlier rather than the later third

century (cf. e.g. PBerol. 7216, *Aeg.* 45 (1965) pl. 8, reign of Severus Alexander). The general subject and tone have a close parallel in PRossGeorg. III 1, which Roberts referred to the events of 268-70 (see *Aus Antike und Orient*, Festschrift Schubart, 112).

The surface of the papyrus is badly rubbed, and reading is often difficult. I am particularly indebted to Dr. John Shelton for his help.

→ Ἄρει[ος] Ἀγριππίνῃ καὶ Κορνηλίῳ τοῖς γονεῦσι

πολλὰ χαίρειν.

πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχ[ο]μαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας  
ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου Στεφάνου. ἤδη πολλὰς ἐπιστο-

5 λὰς ὑμῖν ἔγραψα δηλῶν ὅτι μ[έλλ]ω πλέειν καὶ σωθῆ-

ναι τῆς πόλεω[ς] τᾶχα δὲ . . . . . περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε

γενομ[έ]ν[ων]· τοιαῦ[τ]α γέγονεν οἷα οὐδέποτε ἐκ τοῦ

αἰῶν[ος] γέγονεν· νῦν ἀνθρωποφαγεία ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ πόλε-

μος . . . . . ρεσετ . . . . . τῆς πόλεως εὐρεθεὶς νῦν

10 ηομ . . . . . λω π . . . . . [ . . . ] δε . . . . . ω τῷ Ἐπειφ· δηλ[ώ]σει

δέ σοι Ἀυξάνουσα τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ [ἀ]ν[απλ]εύσω καὶ τὸ ὄγο-

μα δι' ο[δ]οῦ εἰς σοὶ πέμψῃ ἢ [κ]ατέλιπ[ο]ν τραγήματα· ἔστιν δέ·

κάροια διακόσια καὶ ἰσχάδες διακοσίας καὶ γραφία δύο·

αὐτὰ λήμψῃ μετὰ καὶ ἐπιστολῆ . . . . . ης· διὸ κυρία μου

15 μήτηρ [ . . . ] εν . ακη . . . . . λεον χαίρου ὅτι ἔξω τῆς

πόλεώς εἰμι· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤθελον [π]ρὸς σὲν εἰσελθεῖν, ἢ δὲ τῆς

πόλεως ἀνθρῶ . . . . . ια οὐκ ἀφήκεν με· ἀλλὰ εἰς ζώ-

μεν . . . . . οκαις . . . . . [ . . . ] αἰς πασαι τὸν ἀδελφόν μου

Στέφανον καὶ . . . . . ν σου· ἀσπασαι πρὸς ὄνομα

20 πάντας τοὺς ὑμᾶς φιλοῦντας πολλά.

ἐ[ρρωθεσ]αὶ ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις

. . . . . ουντας καὶ δμοουοῦντας.

. . . . . Ἐπειφ ε"

(Back →)

24 ἀπόδορ . . . . . ρσα μυροπόλη ἵνα ἀπ[ο]δῶ Ἀγριππίνῃ μητρὶ

25 π(αρά) Ἀρείου υἱοῦ.

26 ἀπ[ο]δ(ος) εν . . . . . χει . . . . . [ . . . ] μυροπόλη εἶν' ἀποδ(ῶ)

Ἀγριππίνῃ μητρὶ π(αρά) Ἀρείου.

1, 24, 27 αγριπ'πινη

4 ὑμων

13 l. κάρνα

ἰσχάδας or διακόσια

25 υἱου



Marmarica. There is other evidence that this remote and barbarous region belonged to the province of Egypt, at least in the later second and in the third century; and 3067 certainly gives the impression that it was a nome like others in the Egyptian system, to be governed by career civil servants with friends at Oxyrhynchus. See P. Romanelli, *Rend. Pont. Acc. di Arch.* 16 (1940) 215-23.

→ Ἀχιλλίων Ἱερακαπόλ[λ]ωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ  
χαίρειν.  
μέλλων μεταπέμπεσθαι τὴν ἀδελ-  
φὴν ἀναγκαίως διὰ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο ὑ-  
5 π' ἐμοῦ διαπεμφθέντων γράφω  
πρῶτον μὲν ἀσπαζόμενός σε  
καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν μου καὶ τὸν υἱὸν  
ἡμῶν Διονύσιον ἔπειτα προτρε-  
πόμενος γράφειν μοι περί τε τῆς σω-  
10 τηρίας σου καὶ ὧν ἐντεῦθεν χρή-  
ζεις· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας ἔσει μοι  
χαρὶ]ζάμενος· δόξομεν γὰρ διὰ  
τῶν γ]ραμμάτων ἀλλήλους ὄρᾶν.  
(m.<sup>2</sup>) ἐρρωσθαί [ε]ε εὔχομαι.

Back →

15 (m.<sup>1</sup>) Ἱερακαπόλλωνι [ἀδ]ελφῷ  
(m.<sup>3</sup>) π(αρά) Ἀχιλλίωνος  
ς[τ]ρ(ατηγοῦ) Μαρμαρικῆς.

4 ὑ- 16 π' 17 ς[τ]ρδ

'Achillion to Hieracapolon his brother, greetings. Since I am in process of sending for my sister, I send you a letter, as in duty bound, by the hands of those whom I have dispatched for this purpose: a letter first to salute you and my sister and our son Dionysius; secondly to exhort you to write to me about your health and about your requirements here. Do this, and you will be doing me a favour: we shall have the impression, through our letters, of seeing one another face to face. (2nd hd.) I pray for your health.'

(Address) 'To Hieracapolon his brother (3rd hd.) from Achillion, strategus of the Marmarica.'

## 3068. NOTE ABOUT AMULET

20 3B.37/K (1-3) b

12.1 × 4.7 cm.

Third century

This brief note, without name of writer or addressee, is written across the fibres; the back of the slip is blank. The writer is interested in an amulet against tonsillitis. The amulet took the form of a gold plate, magically inscribed. Such plates were in common use; hence the objections of Eusebius and Cyril of Jerusalem (Lampe, *Patr. Gr. Lex.* s.v. *περίαμμα*). Instructions for their making are given, for example, in PGM vii 580 f.: *φυλακτήριον . . . πρὸς πάσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος, ἐπιγραφόμενον ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ πετάλου κτλ.* The important part was the precise wording; and the recipient of this note is instructed to copy out the formula for tonsillitis and send it to Sarmates.

↓ τὸ πρὸς παρίσθια περίαμμα  
εἰς τὸ χρυσοῦν πέταλον τῷ Καρμάτῃ  
πέμψον γρά[ ]ψας εἰς πιττάκιον  
ὡς περιέχει.

'The charm against tonsillitis on the gold plate, send it to Sarmates. Write it on a tablet word for word.'

1 *παρίσθια*: not a serious complaint: Asclepius of Epidaurus treated it by gargling with cold water, Hippocrates cites it among ailments typical of older children (IG 4<sup>2</sup> (1) 126. 31; Hipp. *Arh.* 3. 26).

*περίαμμα*: amulets are mentioned in the magical prescriptions against various illnesses in BGU 1026 (22) 17. Cf. the curious ostrakon published by Plaumann, *Archiv* 6. 220 f., where the writer several times mentions *πεταλία* and adds *ἔχουσι δὲ αἱ πεταλία ἐπιγραφὴν ἐν φύλλοις*.

3-4 It is not clear why he should send the amulet and a copy of the words as well. Probably the writer intended 'Copy out the amulet on a tablet, and send the tablet to Sarmates.'

## 3069. LETTER OF AQUILA TO SARAPION

21 3B.26/A (5-7) a

10 × 22.2 cm.

Third/fourth century

A letter from an intellectual clique, written in an almost literary hand which I should assign to the third or early fourth century. The scribe may well be Aquila himself, since the greeting (25) is by the same hand as the main text. He seems to have used a very soft pen: the strokes are generally thick and dull, with occasional phrases in sharper and blacker lines as if he had sharpened the point. The one mark of punctuation is the rough breathing in line 5 ὁ.

The addressee was a philosopher (26). Aquila congratulates him on not flagging in his austerities, despite the difficult circumstances, and exhorts him to persist in the pursuit of virtue without yielding to worldly distractions. This sermon is familiar ground: such self-abnegation is naturally attributed by Philostratus to his assembly-kit

egg-head (*Vita Apollonii* 1. 8 and 13); Plotinus felt ashamed of existing in a body at all (Porphyry, *Vita* 1). The style is as self-conscious as the matter. Indeed the whole letter deserves to be compared with those of the Theophanes Archive, which show similar ambition in both hand and content: PHermRees 2-6, PRyl. 624, *Bull. Ryl. Lib.* 51 (1968) 177 (collected by A. Moscati, *Aeg.* 50 (1970) 88 ff.).

→ *Ἀκύλας Σαραπίωνι*  
*χαίρειν.*  
 κομισάμενός σου τὰ γράμ-  
 ματα πάνυ ἤεθην· ἦ μάλιστα  
 5 ὁ ἡμέτερος Καλλίνεικος ἐμαρ-  
 τύρει περὶ τῆς διαίτης σου ἧς  
 ποιῆ καὶ ἐν τοιούτοις ὦν  
 πράγμασι[[ν]], μάλιστα μὴ  
 ἀφιστάμενος τῆς ἀκίχσεως·  
 10 ἄξιον οὖν ἐστὶν ἐπαινεῖν ἐ-  
 αυτούς, οὐχ ὅτι ποιούμεν ταῦ-  
 τα ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὴ ἐξαγόμεθα  
 ὑφ' ἐαυτ[ῶν]· ἀνδραγάθε[ι] οὖν  
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτέλεσον  
 15 ὡς ἀνή[ρ ἀ]γαθός, καὶ μ[ὴ] εἰ  
 παρασσε[τ]ω ἢ πλοῦτος ἢ ὤρα  
 ἢ ἄλλο τ[ι] τ[ῶν] τοιού[[ν]]των, ὡς  
 οὐδὲν ὄφ[ελ]ός ἐστιν ἀρετῆς  
 μὴ παρούσης, ἀλλὰ φροῦδα καὶ οὐ-  
 20 δενός ἄξια. θεῶν ζωζόντων  
 προσδέχομαι σε ἐν τῇ Ἀντινόου.  
 τὸ σκυλάκιον πέμψον Ἐπιμα-  
 ρίδι, ἐπεὶ αὐτὴ νῦν ἐν ἀγρῷ δια-  
 τρεῖβει. ἔρρω{c}ο σὺν τοῖς σοῖς.  
 25 ἔρρω{c}ο.

(Back →) *Σαραπίωνι φιλοσόφω*  
*παρὰ Ἀκύλου*  
*φίλου.*

5 ὁ 13 -ε[ι] corr. from ι ?

'Aquila to Sarapion, greetings. I was overjoyed to receive your letter. Our friend Callinicus was testifying to the utmost about the way of life you follow even under such conditions—especially in your not abandoning your austerities. Yes, we may deservedly congratulate ourselves, not because we do these things, but because we are not diverted from them by ourselves. Courage! carry through what remains like a man! Let not wealth distract you, nor beauty, nor anything else of the same kind: for there is no good in them, if virtue does not join her presence, no, they are vanishing and worthless. Under divine protection, I expect you in Antinoopolis. Send Soteris the puppy, since she now spends her time by herself in the country. Good health to you and yours! Good health!' (Back) 'To Sarapion the philosopher from his friend Aquila.'

1 *Ἀκύλας Σαραπίωνι*: I have not identified either of the friends, or Callinicus (line 5). Sarapion was a philosopher (26): a profession whose membership was encouraged, at least in the second century, by exemption from *munera civilia* (*Dig.* 27. 1. 6. 8, Hadrian). See the list by Calderini, *Studi . . . U. E. Paoli* 153-5.

9 *ἀκίχσεως*: for the various shades of meaning, see Pfister in *Festgabe f. A. Deissmann* 76-81. Philosophical doctrine on the subject is summarized by Bernhard Lohse, *Askese u. Mönchtum* (1969) 52 ff.

12 *ἀλλὰ ὅτι μὴ*: classical usage requires *οὐκ*, but *μὴ* is common in post-classical writers: see for example Schmid, *Atticismus* i 245 on Lucian.

19 *φροῦδα*: a choice word, familiar in Lucian, Aristides, etc., not in the papyri or the NT. Moeris 211. 26 Bekker commends it: *φροῦδος Ἀπτικοί, ἀφαντος ἀφανής Ἑλληνες*.

23 *αὐτῇ* may refer to Soteris; or to a third party, 'the lady of the house' (3060 12 etc.).

## 3070. INDECENT PROPOSAL

39 3B.78/D (1-2) b

10.1 × 10.3 cm.

Plate VIII  
 First century

This curious piece is in fact a letter; it has been folded, and addressed on the back. But the main text, though it ends with the usual greeting, takes the form of a proclamation. This gives a mock-portentous note to the rather primitive proposition, shakily written and shakily spelt, which Apion and Epimas here offer to Epaphroditus. An equally primitive drawing in the right margin clarifies (without real necessity) their intentions.

The drawing has a label: *ψωλή καὶ φίκικ*. *φίκικ* has so far led a ghostly existence in the grammarians. Herodian i 88. 35 Lentz: disyllables in -κικ are oxytone, τὸ δὲ *φίκικ βαρύνεται*;<sup>1</sup> *Suda* iv 719. 24 Adler *φικιδίξεν ἐπὶ τοῦ παιδραστεῖν* (cf. 782. 24). The word can now be seen to have been current in the early Roman period. The genitive must be *φίκικος*; whence *φικιδίξεν* in the same sense as *πυγίξεν*.

→ λέγει Ἀπίων  
 καὶ Ἐπιμάς Ἐπαφροδίτῳ ψωλή  
 τῷ φιλότῳ ὅτι  
 ἡ διδύς ἡμῶν τὸ drawing  
 5 πυγίξαι καὶ καλῶς καὶ φίκικ

<sup>1</sup> Lentz emended to *Κίκικ*, a proper name (allegedly of Alcaeus' brother) which Herodian cites elsewhere as paroxytone (ii 641. 3). For this reason *φίκικ* appears in Stephanus, but not in LSJ or its supplement.

κοί ἐστι, οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ  
 δείρομέν σε ἐὰν δώσης  
 ἡμεῖν τὸ πουργίαι. ἔρρω(σο).  
 ἔρρω(σο).

10 (Back →) ἀπόδ(ος) Ἐπαφροδ(ίτω) τῶ φιλτάτω.

2 επαφροδ<sup>δ</sup> 4 l. εἰ δίδοις 8 l. πουργίαι ερρω<sup>ω</sup> 9 ερρω<sup>ω</sup> 10 ἀποδ<sup>δ</sup> επαφροδ<sup>δ</sup>

2 Ἐπιμάς, if correctly read, must be the hypocoristic of Ἐπίμαχος.

7 δείρομεν: 'thrash', as in the schoolmasters' motto φιλοπόνει, ὦ παῖ, μὴ δαρῆς (see Schubart, *Das Buch* (3rd edn., Leipzig 1961) 41).

8 ἔρρω(σο): faint and dirty; perhaps the writer tried to delete it, in favour of the more elegant placing in the next line.

## VI. MINOR DOCUMENTS

3071. 16 2B.45/C (1-2)a. 6.7 × 23.4 cm. Reign of Decius. These line-ends come from an edict of the Prefect of Egypt, issued in the sole reign of Decius and here copied in a good cursive with touches of chancery style. The left side of the sheet is lost, and with it more than half of each line of writing (see 1 note). The back has been reused for a column of scrappy accounts, ending with a total in talents and drachmas.

The content of the edict is obscured by the damage. It has to do with Antinoites, and the avoidance and fulfilment of obligations. It results from a petition addressed to the prefect by a woman or (more probably) a city or its *boule*. The prefect rules that the defaulters must carry out their obligations, fixes a time limit of thirty days, and prescribes penalties for disobedience. It does not emerge what kind of obligation is in question: perhaps one connected with the performance and evasion of city offices (5, 8, 9, 17). Antinoite freedom from liturgies often gave rise to disputes (*Actes X Congr. Int. Pap., Varsovie*, 73 ff.), and may have some relevance here. SB 7696 illustrates the kind of case which might inspire such an edict at this date.

→ <sup>1</sup> ἔ]παρχο[ς Αἰγύ]πτου λέγει· <sup>2</sup> ] εν μοι δικ[ά]ζ[ο]ντι δια <sup>3</sup> ] ὑπαρχούσας (ὑπ-) αὐτῆ πε-  
<sup>4</sup> ]. προιχομένη (-ίχ-) και <sup>5</sup> ] οἱ ἀποδιδράσκουσι τὰς <sup>6</sup> ἀπρ]οφασίζτως προαγορευ-  
<sup>7</sup> ]. Ἀγτινοέων πολιτεῖ- <sup>8</sup> ] μεθίστανται τασαρ- <sup>9</sup> ] να. .ε καὶ πληρουν <sup>10</sup> ] καθηκούσας ἢ εἴ-  
<sup>11</sup> τινι <sup>11</sup> ] εἴσω ἡμερῶν κα- <sup>12</sup> ] ὦν ὑπομνημάτων <sup>13</sup> ] .ς μὴ πειθεῖεν ταύτη <sup>14</sup> ]. εν δφείλοντες  
<sup>15</sup> τας <sup>15</sup> ]. πολιτεία αὐτοῖς ετι <sup>16</sup> ]. τα ἀπιθ.[.] τοῖς προ- <sup>17</sup> ]. ματα ειασαναιρε <sup>18</sup> ]. σεπαι  
<sup>19</sup> προ[. . . . .]. <sup>19</sup> Τ]ραιανοῦ (-αῖ-) Δεκίου <sup>20</sup> ] vac.

1 The only certainly attested prefect of the reign of Decius is Aurelius Appius Sabinus. If we restore his name here, and the normal titulature in 19, we have lines of about equal length: 1 *Αὐρήλιος Ἀππιος Καβεῖνος ὁ διασημότατος ἔ]παρχο[ς; 19 (ἔτους) αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαίου Μεσσίας Κύντου Τ]ραιανοῦ*. Correspondingly the lacuna in the other lines will be of c. 40 letters. But note that the last date for Appius Sabinus (17. 7. 250) leaves room for a successor within the sole reign of Decius.

2 Probably ἐνέτυ]χεν. For the phrase cf. 3017 5 note.

8 τασαρ: e.g. τὰς ἀρ[χάς.

16 ] τα ἀπιθ.[.]: some part of ἀπειθεῖν suggests itself; but the trace after θ is most like α (not ε or η, hardly ω).

17 e.g. εἰς ἀν αἶρε|[θῶσιν.

18 πρό[θεσ?

20 The preserved papyrus is blank. It follows that Herennius and Hostilianus were not named. The edict therefore belongs before Dec. 250 (*Aeg.* 32 [1952] 155 f.).

**3072.** 22 3B.19/E (1-2)b. 7.8 × 8.9 cm. c. A.D. 197/200. This scrap comes from the top of a column; on the back, remains of a column of accounts, including two payments to nyktophylakes. The writing is a sober and informal chancery hand.

Content and lay-out suggest comparison with *W. Chr.* 41: *commentarii* of some official, probably the strategus. Cf. **3073** and **3074**; and PSI XIV 1444 (revised by Rea, *CdÉ* 47 (1972) 236). The space between lines 3 and 4 will mark a new section, i.e. a new day. The day's record begins with some function of the imperial cult: offerings, it seems, for Septimius Severus and his prefect Aemilius Saturninus.

→ <sup>1</sup> εἰς φερω[...]. . . . κατὰ <sup>2</sup> χιερ[...]. . . ὡς πρόκειται <sup>3</sup> ζεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον κάκεῖ τω <sup>4</sup> (vac.) <sup>5</sup> ἔθυσεν ἔν τε τῷ σεβαστείῳ <sup>6</sup> αἰ εὐφημιῶ <sup>7</sup>. Περτινακ[ <sup>8</sup> ]. ος Αἰμίλιου <sup>9</sup> ] τωνα[

<sup>2</sup> ἀρ]χιεροσύνη] would fit the traces well (-ρω- cannot be read).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. ἐκάθει]ζεν.

<sup>5</sup> *W. Chr.* 41 ii 9-11 ἔθυσεν ἔν τε τῷ Καίσαρειῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ γυ]μνασίῳ. For the Augusteum see 2553 12 and note.

<sup>6</sup> PSI XII 1265. 12 (A.D. 426 or 441) εὐφη[μ]αῖαι καὶ ἱερομηνίαι ταῖς γιγνομέναις ὑπὲρ νείκης καὶ διαμονῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης. Unspecified acclamations before a meeting of the Oxyrhynchite senate (A.D. 370), 2110 2.

<sup>7-8</sup> Mutually dependent restorations: <sup>7</sup> Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σευήρου Περτινακ[ος, 8 τοῦ διασημοτάτου ἡγεμό]νος Αἰμίλιου [Σατορνίνου (prefect c. 197-200).

**3073.** 42 5B.75/G (2-4)c. 5 × 18.5 cm. Third century. Line-beginnings, in a good chancery hand, from the day-book of a strategus; the back is blank. Each day has a separate section, marked off from the next by a very extended paragraphus; the numeral which begins each section projects one letter into the margin. 6 ff. refer to the imperial cult.

→ <sup>1</sup> φερ[ <sup>2</sup> προς[ <sup>3</sup> ως μ[ <sup>4</sup> ριστὰ <sup>5</sup> ρου[ <sup>6</sup> κη ἱεράς (i-) [οὔσης <sup>7</sup> αυτο[ <sup>8</sup> τωντ[ <sup>9</sup> Αὐρηλι[ <sup>10</sup> καὶ ἰου[ <sup>11</sup> καιτ[ <sup>12</sup> καιτ[ <sup>13</sup> ανου[ <sup>14</sup> δευλην[ <sup>15</sup> κθ ὁ στρατ[ηγός <sup>16</sup> βασιλικ[ <sup>17</sup> δρειαν[ <sup>18</sup> ..]. α. . . . [

<sup>6</sup> ἱεράς: or ἱεράς [καὶ σεβαστής, as in PSI 1444. 5.

<sup>7</sup> αὐτοκ[ρατορ- could be read. 9 ff. could be restored from *W. Chr.* 41 iii 8 ff.: Αὐρηλί[ου Σευήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβαστοῦ] καὶ Ἰου[λίας Μαμαίας τῆς κυρίας ἡμῶν σεβαστῆς μητέρος Σεβαστοῦ] καὶ τ[ῶν ἱεράων στρατοπέδων ± 20] καὶ τ[οῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος (Τίτου) Μηουίου Ὀνωρατι]ανοῦ (or the same imperial titlature in the accusative). But Caracalla and Julia Domna (and the prefect Basilianus or Julianus) might suit equally well; or Aurelian and Vaballathus (and Statilius Ammianus). There seems to be no room for the pretorian prefects (*W. Chr.* 41 iii 13, PSI 1444. 7 f.).

<sup>14</sup> περί] δειλην, cf. *W. Chr.* 41 iv 13.

<sup>15</sup> ff. The strategus and his *basilikos grammateus* left for Alexandria?

**3074.** 18 2B.73/J (c). 10.3 × 16 cm. Third century. Another fragment (with upper margin) from the day-book of a strategus, cf. **3072** and **3073**. A substantial portion is lost to the right, as can be seen in line 2. The hand is of chancery type. Most of the piece is taken up with a report of proceedings: the strategus investigates on the spot the disappearance of some shepherds and the wounding or death of one of them. On the back, remains of five lines in cursive.

→ <sup>1</sup> ὁ στρα]τηγός πρὸς τῷ λογιστηρίῳ δημο... [ <sup>2</sup> ὁ στρα]τηγός τὴν ἀγορὰν περιελθὼν πρὸς τῷ λ[ογιστηρίῳ <sup>3</sup> ]. . . τωτος ποιμένων τοπαρχίας ἀραβ[ <sup>4</sup> κ]ατανέμοντας ἀφανεῖς εἶναι (m.<sup>2</sup>) ὁ στρα... [ (m.<sup>1</sup>) ἀμ... [ <sup>5</sup> ] κἰ βασιλικῶ γραμματεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτετ[ <sup>6</sup> ] ρς καὶ γενόμενος εἰς τὸ ἄνω πεδίο[ν <sup>7</sup> ] ἀρμωτου ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ διερμηγ[ <sup>8</sup> ] κηθηται ὁ στρατηγός εἶπ(εν)· πόθεν νο... [ <sup>9</sup> ]. ας ὑπονοεῖς. ἀπεκρέινατο ο... [ <sup>10</sup> ο]ὐκ' εἴ[ι]σεν τοῦ ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν. ὁ στρατη[γός <sup>11</sup> ἀπεκρ]εῖνατο· οὐ· ὡς κείται αὐτὸν εἶδρον με... [ <sup>12</sup> ]. . αὐτοῦ ἀπελείφθης. ἀπεκρέινατο· ε[ <sup>13</sup> ] ἣν συντετριμμένην καὶ τὸν ὄμιον [ <sup>14</sup> ] τωνα... φ... . . . μ [....]. . . . . [ remains of one more line.

<sup>1</sup> and <sup>2</sup> will have begun with the day of the month. The initial lacuna was therefore not large (and the beginning of line 11 will be complete as restored).

<sup>1</sup> δημοσίους (cf. *W. Chr.* 41 iii 37 etc.) cannot be read. Perhaps δημογ... [ or Δημογ... [.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἀγορὰν: cf. *W. Chr.* 41 iii 31, iv 7. The end might be restored e.g. πρὸς τῷ λ[ογιστηρίῳ τοῖς διαφέρουσιν ἐσχόλασεν (*W. Chr.* 41 iv 8 etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps προ]ξετώτος. Ἀραβ[ίας would designate a toparchy on the east bank of the Nile, as in the Panopolite (PBeattyPanop. i. 328) and many other nomes. Cf. on 7.

<sup>4</sup> The corrector added ὁ στρατηγός εἶπεν; the traces do not show whether στρατηγός was written in full or in abbreviation.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀραβικοῦ might be the village in the Aphroditopolite, mentioned in 1746 7; the nome-capital was ἐν τῇ Ἀραβία (Strabo 17. i. 35), which suits line 3. At the end, probably δι' ἐρμηγ[έως: parallels in Taubenschlag, *OM* ii 170.

<sup>8</sup> Probably ἀδ[ι]κηθηται. The sense may be 'mutilated', to judge from 13.

<sup>11-12</sup> Apparently the witness answers 'No! He (the body) was lying like this when I found him...'; the strategus asks '[Well, in what condition was he when] you left him?'

<sup>13</sup> Perhaps τὴν κεφαλ[ήν].

**3075.** 19 2B.74/B (c). 5.5 × 7.5 cm. Third century. Formulary for the opening of a will. This text is written along the fibres, on the back of a register or list of persons. The register mentions a βουλευτής; this, and the hand, suggest that **3075** belongs to the third century.

Witnesses to a will would attend its opening and formally recognize their seals. The words on this slip of papyrus constitute an outline subscription, in which the witness could attest his participation; the form is quite general, with τίς τινος in place of a definite subject, as in other model formularies like SB 9226 and 2677. I have not found an exact parallel to the phrasing in extant wills: 494 32 ff. (a Greek will) has a similar

subscription in different words; presence of witnesses and recognition of seals are combined in BGU 1655. 60 ff. and 2348 ii 51 ff. (both Roman wills).

→ <sup>1</sup> . . . . . τός τινος παρή<sup>2</sup>[μην τής] διαθήκης ἀν[ο]υ<sup>3</sup>[γομέν]ης καὶ ἐπέγνω<sup>4</sup> [. . . . .].  
 φραγεῖδα <sup>5</sup> [. . . . .].

'...I, X son of X, was present at the opening of the will and recognized (my?) seal.'

<sup>1</sup> . . . . .: Ἀρηλίος would suit the traces; but it is really too long, unless the line projected into the left margin. Did the first word designate the documentary type, as in SB 9226? Alternatively, the whole thing could be a name . . . . . ιστίνος; but I can find none which fits.

<sup>1-2</sup> παρή[μην]: the spacing requires the long form, cf. the certain supplement in 3.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπέγνω: the ν is doubtful; it does not account for a low point of ink below the first upright. But ἐπέγνω and ἐπέγνωι leave further ink unaccounted for.

<sup>4</sup> The trace before φραγεῖδα looks most like η with cross-bar projecting; not e.g. ν, unless it had an unexpected linking-stroke. ὄνη might be relevant, see BGU 1655. 62; but I don't see how to fit it in. The final trace in 5, a high horizontal stroke, has the appearance of a paragraphus (rather than an extended final letter): so that the sense should be complete with φραγεῖδα.

3076. 27 3B.43/F (3-4) b. 8.8 × 10 cm. c. A.D. 225. Plate XI. This scrap, from the top right-hand corner of a document, cites a petition to Ti. Clau. Herennianus, who assumed the prefecture on direct orders from Rome when the removal of Epagathus left it vacant (2705 12 etc.). The writing is of some interest: a good round hand with occasional serifs; beta with extended base-line, kappa with the upper oblique flattened. I should have assigned it to the mid second century, but for the content; cf. Roberts *GLH* 11b, an early dated example. The back is blank, except for one trace of ink.

→ <sup>1</sup> (m.<sup>2</sup>) ]ν <sup>2</sup> (m.<sup>1</sup>) ]ων ὑπατικοῦ Κυρία<sup>3</sup> ]ον βιβλεῖδιον . . . <sup>4</sup> δικαιοδ[ότη] διέποντι  
 [κα<sup>5</sup> ] [. . . . .]ρ . . . . .[<sup>6</sup>] . . . παρὰ Ἰουλίῳ Ἀμ-<sup>7</sup> ]ω τῷ κρατίστῳ δικαιοδότη<sup>8</sup> οὗ<sup>9</sup> τως ἔχι //  
 Τιβερίῳ Κλαυδίῳ <sup>9</sup> [Ἐρεννιανῷ τῷ κρατίστῳ δικαιοδότη διέποντι καὶ τὰ] μέρη τῆς  
 ἡγεμονίας ἐκ θείας <sup>10</sup> [κελεύσεως παρὰ c. 30 ] τῶν ἐντείμως ἀπολυθέντων <sup>11</sup> [c. 42]εἰδη.  
 [. . .]εωστῶν μοι ἡγεμονίῳ <sup>12</sup> [c. 42]. κυλ. [. . .]μα ἄλλω κατὰ χειρογρα traces of one more line  
 before the break.

<sup>2</sup> ]ων: the trace is an oblique foot, e.g. ν. ὑπατικοῦ (read by Turner) seems unavoidable (τ has been corrected from π). This *consularis Syriae* is not named; probably the words form part of a longer phrase, which describes one of the military men involved in the case (cf. 10); compare e.g. *Inscr. gr. et lat. de Syrie* ii 448. 5 f. (A.D. 195) βοηθῶ κορινθιαίων ὑπατικοῦ.

<sup>3</sup> . . . : the first has a curved back. E.g. ἐπι[δοθέν].

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps χ[ρ]εωστῶν.

<sup>12</sup> After ]κυλ, ε or ο. E.g. Π[εκύλον] ἄμα ἄλλω (Turner).

3077. A. [13] B4/4 (c) 1. 5 × 9.5 cm. A.D. 231/2. This census return, which mentions the *dux* M. Aurelius Zeno Januarius, was first printed and discussed in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (1970) 397. The text is reprinted here with minor amendments. Another document was originally glued on to the left; on the back, an account or register.

→ <sup>1</sup> π(αρά) Ἀρηλίῳ Ματρεο[.c. 19]<sup>2</sup> ον μητ(ρός) Διεῦτος καὶ [.c. 19]<sup>3</sup> ἀμφοτ(έρων)  
 ἀπ' Ὁξ(υρύχων) πόλεως κ[ατὰ τὰ κελευθέντα ὑπό]<sup>4</sup> Ἀρηλίου Ζήνωνος Ἰανου-  
 αρίου (ἰα-) τοῦ λαμ(προτάτου)] <sup>5</sup> στρατηλάτου καὶ Κλαυ[δίου Μακκουλείνου] <sup>6</sup> τοῦ  
 λαμπρότατα ἡγεμ[ονεύσαντος ἀπογρ(αφόμεθα) πρὸς] <sup>7</sup> τὴν τοῦ διελθ(όντος) θ (ἔτους)  
 Μάρ[κου Ἀρηλίου Σεονήρου] <sup>8</sup> Ἀλεξάνδρου καίσαρος τ[οῦ κυρίου κατ' οἰκίαν]  
<sup>9</sup> ἀπογρ(αφήν) τὸ ὑπάρχον ἡμε[ῖν c. 17] <sup>10</sup> νικ[. . .]ςμερ[. . .] [c. 19] <sup>11</sup> η[. . . . .].  
 ιουθεω[.c. 19] <sup>12</sup> c[. . . . .]ατρεου[ c. 19] <sup>13</sup> γ[. . . . .] . . . [traces of one more line  
 before the break.

'From the Aurelii Matres (?) . . ., mother Dieus, and . . ., both from the city of the Oxyrhynchi. In accordance with the orders of Aur. Zeno Januarius the most illustrious *dux* and Claudius Masculinus the most illustrious former prefect, we register for the house-to-house registration of the past 9th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord the . . . which belongs to us . . .'

<sup>9-10</sup> Perhaps ἐπ' ἀμφοδον Ποιμε]νικῆ[. . .]ς μέρ[ο]ς ἡμ[ε]ων; but I can think of nothing to go before μέρος; ]ς is very likely; not ]ν. Ποιμε]νικ(ῆς) [. . .]ς is also possible.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. (πρότερον) Ἀρηλίου Θέων[ος].

<sup>12</sup> ] Ματρεο[.

3078. 19 2B.76/A (a). 10.2 × 7.1 cm. Second century. Oracle-question. This is a text of familiar type: see most recently R. A. Coles, *JEA* 53 (1967) 121. There are three points of interest. Helios-Sarapis has the unusual epithet *νικαφόρος*, with Doric alpha. The subject is an eye-ailment: such maladies are so prevalent in Egypt, that Hermes himself produced a manual of treatment (Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* 173). The text itself is abnormally clear and literate, and the basic structure certain: τοῦτό μοι δός forms the apodosis of the conditional, and means 'return this slip to me.' (Similarly in 2613 the stop should come before εἰ μέλλω.) See Coles, op. cit. 122. The back is blank.

↓ <sup>1</sup> Διὶ (διῷ) Ἡλίῳ Καράπιδι Νικαφόρῳ· εἰ ἐπιτρέπεις μοι χρήσασθαι Ἐρμείῳ  
 [Ἐ]ρ<sup>3</sup>μοπολίτη ἰατρῶν (ἰα-) πρὸς θεραπείαν <sup>4</sup> τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ τοῦτό μοι συμφέρει,  
<sup>5</sup> τοῦτό μοι δός. <sup>6</sup> . . . [διειλαμ. . . . .].

<sup>1</sup> νικαφόροι: epithet of many deities, but not so far of Sarapis: see Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Nikephoros



(1). The Doric form occurs again in Alexander's letter to the Amazons, Ps.-Call. p. 126. 9 Kroll. Is it a learned touch, like the adscript iotas?

6 This line is indented c. 6 letters. *καὶ* (but not *καί*) *διειλάμην* . . . [(or *κατ[α]διειλάμην* . . .)] would be acceptable readings. The space is short for *Ζαρ[άπι]δι*.

**3079.** 22 3B.21/N (3-4)a. 15 × 26.5 cm. Fourth century. A list of ships, with their owners, captains, and cargoes (or capacities): cf. 2415. The transcript begins with the first complete entry; there are traces of at least three lines above. On the back, remains of two columns of accounts in denarii.

→ <sup>1</sup> πλοῖον Λι . . . . . [*.....*] . . . . . <sup>2</sup> (*vac.*) [*.....*] . . . . . <sup>3</sup> πλοῖον Ἰουλιανοῦ Ἀμμ[.....] ὑπὸ Ἀπφοῦν <sup>4</sup> κυβερνήτην [(*ἀρτ.*)] . ψμζ <sup>5</sup> πλοῖον Λευκαδίου ὑπὸ Κάλβι[ο]ν κυβερ(νήτην) (*ἀρτ.*) ἸΓςβ <sup>6</sup> πλοῖον Σαραπίωνος σπεκουλ(άτορος) ὑπὸ Ἡράκλειον <sup>7</sup> κυβερνήτην (*ἀρτ.*) τη <sup>8</sup> πλοῖον Εὐλόγιου Ματρίνου ὑπὸ Ἀπφοῦν <sup>9</sup> κυβερνήτ[ου]ην (*ἀρτ.*) ωλ

<sup>5</sup> κυβερ      <sup>6</sup> σπεκουλ'

'Boat of L.... (3) Boat of Julianus (son of Ammonius?), under Aphous as captain, ( ), 747 (artabas). Boat of Leucadius, under Salvius as captain, 3,212 art. Boat of Sarapion the *speculator*, under Heraclius as captain, 318 art. Boat of Eulogius son of Matrinus, under Aphous as captain, 830 art.'

<sup>1</sup> The last letter is apparently ρ with an abbreviation stroke. Probably κ]υβερ(νήτην): line 2, where we expect the word, is blank except for a figure at the end.

**3080.** 27 3B.43/E (1-3)a. 10.5 × 12.3 cm. Second century. An 'order' for various household utensils and supplies. The back is blank.

→ <sup>1</sup> ἐντολή Πετεύριος πρὸς Πλουτίωνα φίλον. <sup>3</sup> λα[.] κηνον τέλειον α <sup>4</sup> ἐλαίου ξενικοῦ χοῦν [ ] <sup>5</sup> πορφύρας παρατύπου στατ(ήρες) ι <sup>6</sup> λαγύνιον ὑελοῦν σὺν θήκη <sup>7</sup> νεώτερον <sup>8</sup> σφθαιροληκῆθου κρ[.] . οι β

'Instruction of Peteuris to his friend Plution. Laodicean garment (?), in perfect condition, 1, Foreign oil, a chous. False purple, 10 staters. Glass flagon with case, fairly new. 2 rings (?) for the globe oil-flask (?).'

<sup>3</sup> λα[.] κηνον: κη (rather than και or μι) seems the best reading of the cursive group; before that the foot of a descender. λα[δ] κηνον would fit (λα[ν]- probably too long), but its credentials are dubious, see LSJ Suppl. s.v. λαυδικη(νόν?).

<sup>5</sup> παρατύπου: of false money, 1411 12; of false measure, SB 9454 (2) 10. Possibly this is the imitation purple made from madder (PHolm. 26. 29 ff.); fabric so dyed is ψευδοπόρφυρον, 1051 15.

<sup>8</sup> There might be room for a narrow letter between φ and θ. If the reading printed is right.

I suppose the theta must be intrusive; *σφαιρολήκθος* might be an oil-flask of the globular type (D. B. Harden, *Roman Glass from Karanis* 253).

κρ[.] . οι: after ρ the top of a high vertical. Possibly κρίκοι, though it is short for the space. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertum* 125 shows a globular flask which is attached to its bucket-handle by two bronze rings.

**3081.** 19 2B.75/K (4)a. 11 × 31.5 cm. Third century. A short account of jars, written on the back of 3050.

↓ <sup>1</sup> . . . . .]εχον κεραμίων <sup>2</sup> . . . . .ων ἀποκειμένων <sup>3</sup> παρὰ Διογένην ρλγ <sup>4</sup> τῆ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ <sup>5</sup> ἀπὸ Χαρμοσύνον β <sup>6</sup> Ἐπειφ̄ κ̄α εἰς οἶκόν μου <sup>7</sup> κδ̄ εἰς οἶκόν μου . . . . . <sup>8</sup> ἀνακεκαλυμμένον <sup>α</sup>

'... Jars . . . in store with Diogenes, 133. The first day, 1. For Charmsynus, 2. Epeiph 21, for my house, 1. 24th, for my house . . . uncovered, 1.'

<sup>1</sup> ]εχον rather than ε]εχον.

<sup>5</sup> Χαρμοσύνον: the name (one example in Pape-Benseler) seems more likely than a reference to the festival *Χαρμόσυνα*.

<sup>8</sup> ἀνακεκαλυμμένον: an opened jar? Cf. 1297 g. I don't see what the word would mean if it belonged to οἶκον.

**3082.** 5 1B.33/A (a). 9 × 11.4 cm. Third century. Agathus, occupied with embarking the *annonia*, protects his mother by letter: this letter to Phantias, perhaps the village scribe; another to someone else, perhaps the village headman.

→ <sup>1</sup> Ἄγαθος Φανία τῶι <sup>2</sup> ἀδελφῶ πλείεστα χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> καλῶς μὲν ἐποίησας <sup>4</sup> δηλώσας μοι περὶ τῆς μητρός, <sup>5</sup> κρείτ' τον δὲ ποιήσεις ἐπιστάς <sup>6</sup> ἔστ' ἂν μὴ ἐπὶ πλέον ἐνοχληθῆ. ἔγραψα δὲ περὶ τοῦ <sup>8</sup> τῶ ἡγουμένῳ· καὶ αὐτὸς <sup>9</sup> δὲ ἀνελεῖν βουλόμενος <sup>10</sup> οὐ δεδύνημαι μόνος [[γαρ]] <sup>11</sup> ἐν τῇ ἐμβολῇ [[εἰμι]] ὦν. <sup>12</sup> ἐρρωσθαί με εὔχομαι. *Back* → <sup>13</sup> Φανία . . . γρ( ) π(αρά) Ἀγάθου ἀδελ(φου).

'Agathus to Phantias his brother, very many greetings. You did well to let me know about Mother, and you will do better to stay by her until she stops being bothered. I've written to the headman about this. I should like to come up myself, but haven't been able to, having no one with me in the loading of the corn. I pray for your health.'

(*Back*) 'To Phantias . . . from Agathus his brother.'

<sup>8</sup> ἡγουμένῳ: he might be a village official (PRyl. 196. 9-10 note), though I have not found him attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome; but equally he may head a professional group (*γεργάτων* PGrenf. ii 43. 9), or work for an official (*τοῦ στρατηγοῦ* 294 19).

*Back.* The word after Φανία seems to end in -γρ( ) ; the first letter might be kappa; but *κωμογρ(αμ-ματεῖ)* doesn't really fit the traces, nor does *βαε γρς*.

3083. 22 3B.16/A (1-4) a. 13.5 × 9.2 cm. Third century. A business note, written on the back (across the fibres) of a piece cut from a roll of accounts. There is no address.

↓ <sup>1</sup> Αὐρήλιος Σαραπιακὸς Διοσκόρω τῷ <sup>2</sup> τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> ἴσθι ἡμᾶς μόνας δφείλοντας Καλπουρνίω <sup>4</sup> (ἀρτάβας) λδ<sup>-</sup> καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. <sup>5</sup> ἐὰν οὖν ἐπέιγητε (1. -ται) μετρηθήτωσαν αὐτῷ <sup>6</sup> αἱ (ἀρτ.) λδ<sup>-</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἐγένου εἰς τὸν βορρά ἐνεκεν <sup>7</sup> τῶν φυλάκων οὔτε ἀφείκας τὸν γέροντα ἐνέγκαι· ἐξαυ<sup>8</sup>τῆς οὖν ἢ πέμψον ἢ εὐνοῦ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἐνεγκον <sup>9</sup> αὐτούς. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὔχο(μαι).

'Aurelius Sarapiacus to Dioscorus his most honoured friend, greetings. You must know that we owe Calpurnius only 34 artabas, and the remainder from my brother's. So if he is pressed, have the 34 art. measured out to him. You haven't been to the north about the guards, and you haven't let the old man go to bring (them). So either send him, or go there yourself and bring them, at once. I pray for your health.'

3084. 29 4B.44/G (2-3)a. 11 × 11 cm. Second to third century. A business-like note: 'The prefect is said to have arrived in the Heracleopolite on the 24th.' The point may be an implied warning: the prefect is already near the borders of the Oxyrhynchite; the addressee Themistocles should make haste to put the affairs of his ἐπιτροπή in order before the inspection begins.

→ <sup>1</sup> Ἡράκλειος Θεμιστοκλεῖ τῷ <sup>2</sup> τιμιωτάτῳ χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> ὁ κράτιστος ἡγεμὼν λέγεται ἐν <sup>4</sup> τῷ Ἡρακλεοπολείτῃ γεγονέναι <sup>5</sup> τῇ κδ̄ ἐσπέρας· ὅπερ ἔν' εἰδῆς, <sup>6</sup> κύριέ μου, γράφω σοι. ἐρρώσθαι σε εὔχο(μαι) <sup>7</sup> κύριέ μου πανοικ(εῖ) εὐτυχοῦντ(α). Back → <sup>8</sup> Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπιτρόπῳ.

'Heraclius to Themistocles his most honoured friend, greetings. His Excellency the prefect is said to have arrived in the Heracleopolite on the 24th at evening. I write to let you know this, my lord. I pray for your health, my lord, in good fortune with all your household.'  
Back 'To Themistocles the procurator.'

<sup>1</sup> Θεμιστοκλεῖ: not identifiable. The name is fairly common in the first century A.D. (1661 4-5 n.); thereafter only SB 9305 and 103 (a gymnasiarch and prytanis, A.D. 316).

<sup>3</sup> κράτιστος: the title suggests a date not much later than the second century (Stein, *Die Präfekten* 177 f.), though the hand would allow more latitude.

3085. 22 3B.15/C (6-9)b. 8.8 × 11 cm. Third century. Financial arrangements, and a threat to back them up, written across the fibres in a practised cursive. The back has traces of ink.

↓ <sup>1</sup> Ἐρμείας Σαραπίωνι τῷ <sup>2</sup> φιλιτάτῳ χαίρειν. <sup>3</sup> ἀλόγως ἀποστὰς οὐ καλῶς <sup>4</sup> ἐποίησας ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ χοιριδίου ἐν <sup>6</sup> (δρ.) ξ· καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις με<sup>7</sup>ταβαλόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ <sup>8</sup> τῷ διδόντι σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, ἀφ' οὗ τὰς ἕκασ (ἰ-) <sup>10</sup> ἤδη ἔσχον· μὴ τοίνυν <sup>11</sup> ποιήσης με κεν . . . . . <sup>12</sup> ἀλόγως, ἵνα (ἰ-) μηδὲ τὰ ἀν<sup>13</sup>αλώματα ἀπαιτήσω σε. <sup>14</sup> [εὔ]ρωσσο.

'Hermias to Sarapion his very dear friend, greetings. You ought not to have gone off unreasonably with the price of the pig i.e. 60 dr. So kindly pay it over to Alexander, the man who brings you this letter, from whom I've received the same sum. So don't involve me in unreasonable bother (?), otherwise I may claim the expenses from you too. Good health.'

<sup>6</sup> (δρ.) ξ: a substantial pig, to judge from the prices listed by Johnson, *Roman Egypt* 231 f.

<sup>11</sup> Apparently not *κυκλῆναι*; *κύλλεσθαι* might just be possible.

3086. 4 1B.61/K (a). 15.3 × 7.6 cm. Third/fourth century. A business note, written across the fibres (and parallel with the greater dimension) of a slip of papyrus. The hand is an elegant upright cursive of the third or early fourth century. There is no address on the back, though folds parallel with the writing are clearly visible.

↓ <sup>1</sup> Νεμεσιανὸς Κολλούθῳ τῷ φιλιτάτῳ χαίρειν. <sup>2</sup> ὁ Σύρος πρὸ πολλοῦ τὸ τάλαντον εἴληφε καὶ Νεῖλος ἔτι πάλαι <sup>3</sup> (ταλ.) α (δρ.) ψ, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς δὲ αὐτῷ μετεβαλόμεθα· μὴ οὖν ταρασκέτω <sup>4</sup> πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτω χρόνῳ ἀμέμπτως ἡμῖν κοινωνοῦντα· <sup>5</sup> τὴν δὲ λοιπάδα οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ οὔσαν τοῖς λινοῦφοις (-ῖφ-) τήρη[co]ν <sup>6</sup> μηδὲν βλαπτόμενος· ἐν γὰρ τοῦτοις αἱ σπουδαὶ τῶν <sup>7</sup> φίλων φαίνονται. (m.2?) ἐρρώσθαι σε εὔχομαι.

'Nemesianus to Colluthus his very dear friend, greetings. Syrus had the talent a long time ago, and Nilus the 1 tal. 700 dr. ages ago, and we paid over the remainder to him as well. So let him not stir up against us a man who has been a perfect partner to us for such a long time (?). Keep the remainder, which isn't large, for the linen-weavers; it will do you no harm. It's in these things that the active benevolence of one's friends shows itself. (2nd hd.?) I pray for your health.'

3087. 23 3B.8/F (4-5)a. 10.5 × 22.5 cm. Third/fourth century. An ill-spelt letter, written (both text and final greeting) by a practised hand; the back is blank. Pataris believes himself to have rented a certain area; Ptolemaeus and Heraclius claim it instead; Nunechium is to determine the facts.

→ <sup>1</sup> κυρία Νουνειχίῳ Πατάρι(ν) <sup>2</sup> χαίριν. <sup>3</sup> καθὼς συνεχώρησέν μ[ου]οι <sup>4</sup> Διόσκορος ὁ ταιλώνης τὰ ὄρια <sup>5</sup> τοῦ Ἐλικῶνος μέχρι τῆς καθλαμείας τῆς Βαζαζιάδος <sup>7</sup> (δρ.)φ απ. . θα δε καὶ ἡργασάμη(ν) <sup>8</sup> εἰς τὰ ἐμεισθωσάμη <sup>9</sup> καὶ οὐκ αἰπετράπην ὑπὸ Πτο<sup>10</sup>λαιμαίου καὶ Ἡρακλ[ ]'έου, <sup>11</sup> εἰ μὲν δέδωκαί ἐκ τῶν ἐμει<sup>12</sup>σθωσάμη Διόσκορος' γράψον μοι

καὶ οὐ<sup>13</sup>κ ἐργάζομαι εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ ὀ<sup>14</sup>ρια, ἰ δὲ τὸ ὄριον τὸ τῆς Τα<sup>15</sup>κόνᾳ αὐτοῖς δέδωκε καὶ γράψο(ν) <sup>16</sup> μοι καὶ οὐκ ἀπιτρεῖπ[.]ω αὐτο. <sup>17</sup> τοις εἰς τὰ ἡμῶν ἔρχαισται. <sup>18</sup> οἶδε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Διόσκορος <sup>19</sup> ὅτι εἰδὸν τριάκοντα ἔτη <sup>20</sup> ἔχω τὰ ὄρια ταῦτα. <sup>21</sup> ἔρωσόν μοι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

4 l. τελ- 8 l. εἰς ᾶ 9 l. ἐπετρ- 11 l. δέδωκε, ἐξ ᾶν 14 ἰ 15 l. δέδωκε γραψῶ  
16 l. ἐπιτρέπω 17 l. ἔρχεσθαι 21 l. ἔρωσο

'To my lady Nunechium, Pataris sends greetings. As Dioscorus the tax-farmer conceded me the area of Helicon as far as the reed-bed at Bassias for 500 dr., and I went off (?) and worked on what I had rented and was stopped by Ptolemaeus and Heraclius—if Dioscorus has given (them) part of what I rented, write to me and I won't work on that area; but if he has given them the area at Tacona, write to me and I'll stop them coming on to our property. Dioscorus himself too knows that it's now thirty years that I've had this area. Good health for many years.'

1 *Νουνεχίω*: Pape-Benseler cites solitary examples of *Νουνεχία* and *Νουνέχιος*.

*Πατάρι(ν)*: the scribe seems to have written the final *ν* in full, and then overwritten it with *ι*: 1. *Πατάρις* or *-ρεῖς*?

4-6 Helicon at least should be a place-name, like Tacona in 14 f. Neither Helicon nor Bassias is among the geographical names in *WB* iii or *WB Suppl.* iii.

6 *Βασσιᾶδος*: not *Βακχιᾶδος*.

7 (δρ.) φ: the figure is much overwritten, with traits of γ and α (?) as well.

απ. θαδε: the trace suggests *απαρθα*: for *ἀπῆλθα* δέ?

16 Apparently *αυτοῖ*, i.e. *αὐτοῖ(ς)*, with *-τοῖς* repeated in 17 by mistake.

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. An asterisk indicates that the word to which it is attached is not recorded in LSJ or Suppl. Square brackets indicate that a word is substantially restored, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. Words completely restored, i.e. of which no portion is extant in the text, are not indexed; nor is the article.

## I. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

(2999-3013, 3024 15-19)

ἀβουλία [3006 2?].  
ἀγαθός 3006 16.  
Ἀγαμέμνων 3002 26.  
ἄγαν 3007 i 22.  
ἀγαπᾶν 3004 4.  
ἄγγος 3000 *schol.* 13.  
ἄγειν 3006 17 3013 12.  
ἀγνοεῖν 3013 30.  
Ἀγχιέης 3003 i 15, 18.  
ἀδελφή 3013 10, [18].  
ἀδελφός 3011 9.  
ἀδιάγνωστος 3008 4.  
ἀδικος 3006 3, [14].  
ἀδίκως 3006 10.  
ἄδολος 3010 26?  
ἀδοξία 3005 i 12, 14.  
ἀεί 3006 20, 23?  
ἀεῖδεν 3002 22.  
ἀηδών 3013 32.  
ἀθάνατος 3001 i 13 3006 8.  
Ἀθηναί 3013 11, 13.  
Ἀθηναῖοι 3009 17 3013 2.  
Ἀθήνη 3002 4.  
ἄθως 3003 i 14.  
Ἀιακίδης 3002 22.  
Ἄϊας 3024 15.  
Ἀινείας 3003 i 12, 13, 17.  
αἰσθησις 3008 4.  
ἀκαρής 3005 i 5.  
ἀκούειν 3006 [1], 9 3011 22.  
ἀκωκή 3002 16.  
ἀλαζ- 3005 ii 5.  
ἀλαπάζειν 3002 19.  
ἀλάσθαι 3000 *schol.* 5.  
ἀλήθεια [3013 25].

ἀλίσκεσθαι [3003 i 13].  
ἀλκήεις 3002 24.  
ἀλλά 3003 ii 15 3008 12.  
ἄλλος 3006 11 (*em.*) 3009 14.  
ἀλόγιστος [3010 42].  
Ἀμάθεια 3003 ii 19.  
ἀμελεῖν 3007 i 20.  
Ἀμεινώφει 3011 21?  
Ἀμφίων 3003 i 6, 7.  
ἀμφότεροι 3008 13.  
ἄν 3005 i 10 3009 [6?], 16 3011 14 [3012 3?]  
*see also* ἐάν.  
ἄν (= ἐάν) 3004 10.  
ἀναλαμβάνειν 3003 ii 9?  
ἀνάλυσις 3010 29.  
ἀνάπανσις [3006 5].  
ἀνδραγαθεῖν 3011 10.  
ἀνδροφόνος 3002 9.  
ἀνευ 3006 25.  
ἀνήρ 3002 21 3006 7, 12, 13, 21, 23.  
ἀνθεμ(α?) 3000 *schol.* 17.  
ἄνθρωπος 3000 ii 2, *schol.* 19 3005 i 4 3006 [15],  
18, 22, 26.  
ἀντάλλαγμα 3010 43.  
ἀντί 3002 16.  
ἀν(τὶ τοῦ) 3000 *schol.* 12?, *schol.* 17?  
ἀντίβιος [3002 24?].  
ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι 3008 17.  
ἀνυπόδετος 3000 *schol.* 9.  
ἄξιον 3007 i 12 3013 10.  
ἄπαξ 3006 9.  
ἄπας 3006 24.  
ἀπειλή 3002 12?  
ἀπό 3001 i 13 3003 i 7 3007 i 9, 11.  
ἀπόδειξις [3008 25].

ἀποδιδόναι 3004 6 3005 i 10.  
 ἀποθανεῖν 3003 i 9.  
 ἀποκοπή 3010 29?  
 ἀποκρίνεσθαι 3003 ii 6 3007 i 4.  
 ἀπόκρισις 3009 18.  
 ἀπολλύναι [3006 12] 3007 i 11.  
 Ἀπόλλων 3003 i 11.  
 ἀποπλεῖν 3003 i 13.  
 ἀπόρρητος 3010 1.  
 ἀποσκεδανύναι 3002 21.  
 ἀπροσδόκητος 3005 i 20.  
 ἀργαλέος 3002 13.  
 Ἄργος 3003 ii 4.  
 ἀργύρεος 3002 7.  
 ἀρετή 3004 1.  
 ἀριθμός 3000 ii 5.  
 ἄριστος 3006 13.  
 ἀρχεῖν 3006 10.  
 ἀστυφέλικτος 3002 2.  
 ἀσυλλόγητος 3006 19.  
 ἄταφος 3010 21?  
 ἀτιμότερος 3007 i 4.  
 ἀτυχεῖν [3006 26].  
 αὐτάρκης 3005 i 1.  
 αὐτός 3000 *schol.* 7 3002 3, 25 3003 i 5, 11, 15,  
 ii 7 3004 6*bis* 3005 ii (2), 7, [(10)?] 3007 i 17  
 3008 16 3010 13 [3013 7].  
 αὐτός, ὁ 3008 13 3009 9.  
 Ἀφροδίτη [3003 i 21].  
 Ἀχαιοί 3002 8, 14.  
 ἀχάριστος 3005 i 6.  
 ἀχεύειν 3002 15.  
 Ἀχιλλεύς 3002 1, 6.  
 βάλλειν 3003 ii 7.  
 βάρος 3008 12.  
 βαρύμητις 3002 22.  
 βασιλεία 3003 ii 10.  
 βασιλεύς 3002 10, 19, [26] 3003 i 10, ii 4 [3011  
 20?] 3013 6.  
 βασιλῆος 3002 5.  
 βεβαίωτος 3004 2.  
 βινεῖν 3010 30.  
 βίος [3006 6].  
 βλάβη 3006 3 3007 8.  
 βλάπτειν 3006 2.  
 Βοιωτία [3005 ii 8? (*tit.*)].  
 βορά 3013 30.  
 βόρβορος 3007 i 22.  
 βου- 3012 13.  
 βούλεσθαι 3009 19 3013 9.  
 Βουτ- 2999 8.  
 βρέχειν 3000 *schol.* 8.  
 βροτός 3006 2.

γάλλος 3010 1, 16, 18, 37.  
 γάμος 3013 5.  
 γάρ 3003 ii 11 3005 i 17 3007 i 20 3008 6, 19  
 3009 [19] 3010 33.  
 γε 3001<sup>1</sup> 14 3003 ii 15.  
 γείτων 3007 i 1?  
 γενέσια 3010 26?  
 γενναῖος 3012 8.  
 γενναίως [3006 7].  
 γέρον 3002 23.  
 γῆ 3003 i 14.  
 γῆρας 3003 i 16.  
 γίγνεσθαι 3003 i 18 3010 16 [3013 31].  
 γινώσκειν 3004 3 [3006 22] 3010 33.  
 γλώσσα 3000 ii 1.  
 γλωσσοτομεῖν 3013 19.  
 γνώμη [3009 20].  
 γοᾶν (γοόωσα) 3001<sup>1</sup> 4.  
 γόνυ 3011 8.  
 γραπτύς 3000 ii 2, *schol.* 19.  
 γράφειν 3009 5, 10.  
 Δανάη [3003 ii 3].  
 Δαναοί 3002 4, 11.  
 δέ 3000 *schol.* 5 (οἱ δέ) 3001<sup>1</sup> 6 3002 4, 7, 12, 16,  
 24, 25 3003 i 5, 12, 15, 17, 18, ii 6 3005 i 5  
 3007 i 9 3008 9, 17, 21 3009 11 3010 6, 10,  
 19*bis*, 33, 37, 42 3011 3, 7, 15, 21 3012 2?  
 3013 8, 12, 16, 18, 24, 32, 33.  
 δεικνύναι 3004 3.  
 Δεινίας 3012 3.  
 δεξιός 3004 14.  
 Δερκυλλίς [3012 5].  
 δηλοῦν 3012 2.  
 δημιουργός [3009 2].  
 διά *c. acc.* 3010 3, 16?, *c. gen.* 3013 23.  
 διαρεῖν 3008 14.  
 διαπαρθευεῖν 3013 17.  
 διαπερᾶν 3011 11.  
 διαφέρειν 3007 i 23.  
 διαφορά 3008 5, 8, 19.  
 διδάσκειν [3002 23] 3010 3, 7, 35.  
 διδαχή [3010 10?].  
 διδόναι 3004 14.  
 διερός 3000 ii 1?  
 δίκαιος 3004 4 3006 12, 21.  
 δικαίως 3006 10.  
 διώκειν 3004 10.  
 (-)διώκειν 3006 20.  
 δόλος 3010 30.  
 δυνάς 3008 4.  
 δύνασθαι 3004 8 3013 22.  
 δυνάστης 3013 2 (*em.*).  
 δύο 3011 6.

δυσμενής 3002 11, 18.  
 δύστροπος 3007 i 17.  
 ἐριδυαίνειν 3004 7.  
 δυσωδία 3007 i 11.  
 δῶρον 3002 26.  
 εἰάν 3007 i 10 [3012 11?] *see also* ἄν.  
 εἰάν (= ἄν) 3000 *schol.* 8.  
 ἐγώ 3002 19 3010 17?, 31 3011 11 3012 2.  
 ἔγωγε 3002 3.  
 εἰ 3002 1, 4 3007 i 7 3008 6, 19, 21.  
 εἰδέναι 3010 19*bis*, 24, 27.  
 (-)εἰδέναι 3010 18.  
 εἰκότως [3005 i 9].  
 εἶναι 3004 1?, 4 3005 i [6], 21 3006 [4], 5, 8,  
 18, 19, [21], [22] 3007 i 9 3008 2?, 9, 19 3010  
 37, 39 3011 [6], 7.  
 (-)εἶναι 3005 i 13, 16?  
 εἵνεκα 3004 6.  
 εἰς 3013 11, 12.  
 εἰς 3007 i 10.  
 ἐκ, ἐξ 3013 6.  
 ἕκαστος 3005 i 3 3008 2.  
 ἐκείνος 3009 20.  
 ἐκτελεῖν 3003 ii 12?  
 ἐκτρέφειν 3004 5.  
 \*Ἐκτωρ 3002 14.  
 ἐλεύθερος 3006 9.  
 ἐλθεῖν 3003 i 8 [3011 14?].  
 (-)ελθεῖν 3001<sup>1</sup> 7.  
 \*Ἐλλην 3024 19.  
 ἐλπὶς 3005 i 21.  
 ἔμμαντος 3012 9.  
 ἐμβαλίνειν 3001<sup>1</sup> 14.  
 ἐμπύρευμα 3005 i 5.  
 ἐν 3002 8, 15, 22 3003 ii 15 3004 11? 3005 i 4?  
 ἐνθα 3003 i 20.  
 ἐνι (ἐνι σι ἐνί) [3000 i 4].  
 ἐνίστε [3005 i 14?].  
 ἐντολή 3003 i 21.  
 ἐπελθεῖν 3010 11.  
 ἐπέρχεσθαι 3003 i 10.  
 ἐπί 3002 1, 8, 14.  
 ἐπιγινώσκειν 3013 24.  
 ἐπιεικής 3007 i 18, 20.  
 ἐπιθ(ετικῶς?) 3000 *schol.* 5.  
 ἐπικηρυκία 3009 12.  
 ἐπιμαίεσθαι 3002 7.  
 ἐπιπείθεσθαι 3002 25.  
 ἐπιστέλλειν 3009 10.  
 ἐπιστολή 3012 1.  
 ἐπιτιθέναι 3011 10.  
 ἐπιτρέπειν [3013 13?].  
 ἐπι- 3002 16.

ἐρασθαι [3013 15].  
 \*Ἐρατοθένης 3000 ii 4 (*tit.*).  
 ἐριδυαίνειν 3004 7.  
 \*Ἐρινός 3013 27? (*pap. corrupt*).  
 ἐριούνης 3000 i 3.  
 \*Ἐρμῆς 3000 ii 3 (*tit.*) 3011 16.  
 ἐρύεσθαι 3002 2.  
 ἑταῖρος 3002 17 3007 i 13.  
 ἑταρος 3002 12, 16, 23.  
 ἔτι 3005 i 5?  
 ἔτος 3003 i 10?  
 εὖ 3004 12.  
 εὐγενής 3010 14.  
 εὐδοξία 3005 i 13, 19.  
 εὐθές 3011 13.  
 εὐθύς 3004 4 3012 12.  
 εὐλαβεῖσθαι 3003 i 5 3013 17.  
 εὐλαβέστερον 3007 i 18.  
 εὐνοια 3005 ii 10.  
 εὐρίσκειν 3003 [i 12], ii 20?, [21?] 3010 13?  
 Εὐρύκλεια *see* θηρυκλειαν.  
 Εὐρύμαχος [3003 i 10].  
 εὖτε 3002 13.  
 εὐτυχεῖν 3004 7.  
 ἐφιστάμαι 3001<sup>1</sup> 4 3003 i 20.  
 ἔχειν [3003 i 6] 3005 i [2], 9 3006 24 3007 i 21  
 3008 5 3010 18 3011 3 3013 3, 6.  
 ἔχθρα 3006 8.  
 ἕως 3003 i 9.  
 ζευγνύναι 3013 5.  
 Ζεύς 3000 *schol.* 8 3003 ii 16.  
 Ζῆθος [3003 i 6, 9].  
 ζηλοτυπία 3013 25.  
 ζῆν [3004 6].  
 ζητεῖν 3011 19.  
 †ζμειλεῖν 3010 23 (*leg. cμίλην?*).  
 ἦ 3007 i 18 3010 40 *see also* ἦέ.  
 ἦδη 3012 9.  
 ἦδύς 3005 ii 8.  
 ἦέ 2999 12 (ἦ' οὔη) [3003 i 3].  
 ἦθεῖος 3002 25.  
 ἡμέρα [3011 3?].  
 ἡνίκα 3009 15.  
 \*Ἡρη 3002 5.  
 θάλασσα 3003 ii 8 3011 12.  
 θάσσαν 3002 5.  
 θεά 3002 10, 25 3011 17.  
 θεᾶσθαι 3013 9.  
 θεῖος 3006 17.  
 θέλειν 3010 32.  
 θεμ- 3010 23.

Θέμις 3003 ii 18.  
 θεός 3001 i 10 3004 14bis [3006 21] 3011 16, 21.  
 θεραπεύειν 3004 8.  
 Θεσσαλός [3003 i 2].  
 Θέτις 3001 i 11 3002 10.  
 Θηβαίοι 3003 i 5.  
 θήγειν 3002 15.  
 θηλυκός 3010 7.  
 †θηρυκλειαν 3010 25 (leg. Εὐρύκλειαν?).  
 θνήσκειν 3005 i 7.  
 θνητός 3006 8.  
 Θράκες 3013 6.  
 Θράκη 3013 21.  
 θρήνος 3010 25.  
 θυγάτηρ 3013 3.  
 θυμ- 3024 19.  
 θυμός 3002 15.  
 θύρα 3001 i 7.  
 θωρήσασθαι 3002 4.  
 ἰδίως 3008 6.  
 ἱερόν 3000 schol. 6.  
 ἴνα 3002 19 3010 4, 18.  
 Ἰάλαος 3010 14, 16, 32, 34.  
 ἴππ[ (or Ἰππ[) 2999 4.  
 Ἰαίς 3011 18 (εις αὐτὰρ).  
 ἴκος 3008 12.  
 ἰσότης [3004 9].  
 ἱστορία 3003 i 2, [ii 1].  
 ἴσχειν 3002 5, 6.  
 ἴσως 3005 i 16?  
 ἴτυς 3013 8, 28.  
 καί 3002 2, 6, 12, 14, 17, 20, 26 3003 i 6, 16, 17,  
 ii 18 3004 2, 7 3005 i 3, 12, 20 3006 10bis 3007  
 i 3, 7, 10, 13, 17, 20, 22 3008 12, 13, [15]  
 3009 2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 19 3010 7, 12, 14, 26, 27,  
 29, 32, 34 3011 11, 16 3013 3, 8, 13, 14, 21, 26.  
 καιρός 3006 24.  
 κακός 3001 i 12 3004 10 3005 i 21, 22 3006 5,  
 [17] [3012 10].  
 καλεῖν 3003 i 2, 18, ii 11?  
 καλλιέφυρος 3003 ii 3.  
 καλός 3000 i 4 3006 9.  
 κάπηλος 3007 i 5, 16.  
 καρπός 3006 12.  
 κατά 3003 i 10?, 19, 20 3010 12.  
 κατα- 3012 12.  
 καταταρταροῦν 3003 i 11.  
 κεν 3002 3.  
 κεράμιον 3007 i 6.  
 κέραμος 3007 i [3], 16.  
 κέρδος 3004 10 3006 3.  
 Κῆνξ [2999 3?, 5?].

κίναυδος 3010 14, 26, 27.  
 κινεῖν 3007 i 22.  
 Κλειτοφῶν 3004 1.  
 κληροῦν 3010 9?  
 κλήσις 3010 27.  
 κλισίη 3002 15.  
 κωνή 3009 14.  
 κοινός 3006 4.  
 κοιτών 3010 24.  
 Κόλαξ 3005 ii 5 (tit.).  
 κολεόν 3002 8.  
 κόπος 3003 i 16.  
 κορούσασθαι 3002 1, 11, 16.  
 κοπέειν 3002 2.  
 κρατερός 3002 14, 23.  
 κρείσσω [3010 40].  
 κρίνεν 3005 i 8.  
 κρίβειν 3010 31.  
 κτείνειν 3002 18.  
 κτήμα [3006 13].  
 κτίζειν 3003 i 21.  
 κύων 3004 5.  
 Κύπρις 3000 i 8?  
 Κύπρος 3000 schol. 2.  
 κόπη 3002 7.  
 λαμβάνειν 3005 i 3 [3013 27].  
 λάρναξ [3003 ii 7?].  
 λέγειν 3008 3, 20, 21 3011 14 [3012 4?].  
 λείπειν 3001 i 11.  
 λέων [3004 11].  
 ληΐζεσθαι 3003 i 4.  
 λίθος 3003 i 8.  
 λίσσεσθαι 3002 26.  
 λόγος 3010 15.  
 λοιπόν [3011 9].  
 λοιπός 3005 i 1.  
 λυπεῖν 3006 14.  
 λύρα 3003 i 7.  
 μάζα 3000 schol. 15.  
 μάλα 3001 i 14.  
 μάλλον 3002 11.  
 μανθάνειν 3010 3, 36?  
 μάρνασθαι 3002 20.  
 μεγαλήτωρ [3003 i 3].  
 μεγάλως 3011 23.  
 μέγαρον 3001 i 7?  
 μέγας 3011 15.  
 μέγεθος 3008 11.  
 μέγιστος [3006 16].  
 μέλλεν 3010 4, 30.  
 Μέμφις 3011 2?

μέν 3002 i 3007 i 6, 19 3008 6, 15, 19 3010 34  
 3012 1.  
 μενεδήμιος 3002 9.  
 μένειν [3012 11?].  
 μένος 3002 13.  
 μεσοπορεύειν 3013 15.  
 μέσος [3010 33?].  
 Μεσσήνιοι 3009 11.  
 μετά c. acc. 3003 i 3, c. gen. 3003 i 13 3004 7  
 3008 20.  
 μεταχειρίζεσθαι 3007 i 14.  
 μέχρι 3011 7.  
 μή 3000 schol. 7 3001 i 13 3002 11, 21 3004 9  
 3005 i 18 3006 8, 11 3013 18 3024 15?  
 μηδέ 3001 i 11 3008 21 3010 31 (μ. ἔν).  
 μηδεῖς 3004 9.  
 μηκέτι 3002 7.  
 μήνις 3002 6, 13, 21.  
 μήτε 3006 1bis 3010 4.  
 μήτηρ 3003 i 21 3004 4 [3010 24?].  
 μητρόπολις 3000 schol. 2.  
 μικρός 3007 i 8.  
 μιμείσθαι 3006 11.  
 μίμνειν 3002 8.  
 μιμησέσθαι 3001 i 10 3004 12 3006 4.  
 μιν 3001 i 8.  
 μόνος 3007 i 10.  
 μορφή 3008 12.  
 Μοῦσα 3003 i 7.  
 μοχθεῖν 3004 5.  
 μῦθος 3002 17.  
 μυριώννμος 3011 17.  
 μυρτικός 3010 15, 15?, 35.  
 ναυαγεῖν 3003 i 14.  
 νεβρός 3004 11 (corrupt?).  
 Νείκων 3010 17, 26?, 38.  
 νεκρός [3010 21?].  
 νέος 3004 13 3024 16.  
 νήλιπος 3000 schol. 9(bis?).  
 νῆσος 3000 schol. 1 3003 ii 9.  
 νοεῖν 3002 13.  
 νόθος 3010 22.  
 νομίζειν 3004 1.  
 νῦν 3008 15, 17 3009 8.  
 ξίφος 3002 2, 17.  
 ὁ demonstr. 2999 9 3003 i 12.  
 ὁ 3003 i 8?  
 ὁδός 3011 5, 15.  
 ὀδυνᾶν 3004 10.  
 οἰκία 3010 24.  
 οἶκος 3004 11?(em.)  
 οἰνήρος 3007 i 6.  
 οἶον 3000 schol. 5 3008 7.  
 οἶος 2999 12 (ἡ' οἶη) [3005 i 21].  
 οἰστῶν 3013 26.  
 ὀλολυγμός 3010 23.  
 ὀμιλος 3003 i 12.  
 ὀνομάζειν 3010 2.  
 ὀπηνίκα 3000 schol. 8.  
 ὄπουν 3003 i 17.  
 ὄπως 3009 6?  
 ὄρᾶν 3006 1.  
 ὄργη [3006 22].  
 ὀργίζεσθαι 3003 ii 6?  
 ὀρίνειν 3002 18.  
 ὄρκος 3010 20.  
 ὄρμᾶν 3001 i 6.  
 ὄρος 3008 14.  
 ὄς 3006 11 3010 3 3013 6.  
 Ὀσίρις [3011 21?].  
 ὄσπερ 3010 36.  
 ὄσσεια 3001 i 6.  
 ὄστις 3005 ii 13, 15 3006 15?  
 ὅτι 3007 i 5 3008 7? 3010 25, 30.  
 οὐ 3002 8, 10, 14, 23 3005 ii 3? 3006 12 3008 9  
 3010 39 3024 17?  
 οὐ 3000 schol. 15.  
 οὐδέ 3002 5 3005 i 14 [3010 41].  
 οὐδεῖς 3010 39.  
 οὐδέν 3007 i 24.  
 οὐκέτι 3002 4 3003 i 8.  
 οὐν 3011 9.  
 οὐσία 3008 8, 17.  
 οὕτε 3008 10bis, 11, 11(em.).  
 οὗτος 3003 ii 21 3004 3, 7 3006 11 3008 9 3011  
 3, 15, [22] 3012 1.  
 οὕτως (or οὕτω) 3007 i 2.  
 ὄχλος 3005 i 19.  
 ὀμίγονος 3002 22.  
 παθεῖν 3001 i 12.  
 (-)παθεῖν 3007 i 25.  
 παίξειν 3010 28.  
 παῖς [3003 ii 17?] 3013 15.  
 Πανδίων 3013 2, 14.  
 παρὰ c. dat. 3003 i 2, [ii 1], c. gen. 3009 17.  
 παραγίνεσθαι 3013 12, 20.  
 παραπίπτειν 3010 4.  
 παραπλήσιος 3000 schol. 14.  
 παραπλήσιως 3007 i 13.  
 παρατιθέναι 3003 ii 17? 3013 29.  
 παρηγορεῖν 3010 15.  
 παρθένος [3013 14].  
 πᾶς 3005 i 4, 22? 3006 5 3010 18, 19? 3011  
 13(πάντα adv.?).

πατήρ 3001<sup>1</sup> 10 3002 9 [3003 i 13, ii 5?, 11?]  
3004 3 3010 25.  
Πάτροκλος 3001<sup>1</sup> 9.  
παύειν 3002 6.  
Πάφος 3000 *schol.* 1 (*del.*), *schol.* 3.  
πείθειν 3003 i 8.  
πειθεσθαι 3002 5 3006 10 3010 38.  
πειρᾶν 3005 ii 6?  
πέλειν 3000 ii 1.  
Πελοποννήσιοι [3009 1].  
πέμπειν 3002 12.  
πένης 3004 12.  
περί *c. dat.* 3002 18, *c. acc.* 3003 i 9, 14 3008  
2, *c. gen.* 3009 5, 9.  
περι(-) 3003 i 20.  
περίοικος [3003 i 5].  
Πηλείδης 3001<sup>1</sup> 5.  
Πηλεύς 3002 9.  
πήχυς 3011 6.  
πιμπλάναι 3002 13.  
πιστ- 3010 31.  
πιστός 3013 16.  
\*πλάθανος 3000 *schol.* 13.  
πλανᾶσθαι 3000 *schol.* 5 3011 18.  
πλάτος 3011 5.  
Πλάτων 3008 7, 8, 16, 18.  
πλείων 3007 i 7.  
πλέον [3004 10?].  
πλεονεκτεῖν 3004 9.  
πληρ- 3010 10.  
πλουτεῖν 3004 12.  
πλοῦτος 3010 41.  
ποιεῖν 3004 12 3005 i 23.  
ποιός 3008 6.  
πολεμίζειν 3002 24?  
πόλις 3003 i 6, [21].  
πολλαχῶς 3010 6.  
πολυπήμων 3002 6, 21.  
πολύς 3000 i 5 3006 2.  
πονηρία [3006 19].  
πονηρός [3006 23?].  
πορεῖν 3002 26.  
πορεύεσθαι 3013 11.  
πόρος 3011 4.  
ποτε 3007 i 1?  
πότνια 3000 i 8?  
πράγμα 3006 6.  
πράως 3007 i 21.  
πρεσβυτερότερος (*sic, leg. πρεσβύτερος?*) 3013 4.  
Πρίαμος 3001<sup>1</sup> 13? 3002 12.  
πρίν 3001<sup>1</sup> 12.  
προίεμαι (ἔημι) 3002 10 3012 8?  
Πρόκη 3013 3 (προκη *par.*), [5] ([οκη *par.*), 9,  
[24].

προπάροιν 3001<sup>1</sup> 8.  
πρός 3004 2? 3005 i 18, [19] 3009 11 3010 11?  
3011 2?  
προσαγορεύειν 3013 7.  
προσδέχεσθαι 3009 16.  
προδοκᾶν 3005 i 24.  
προσέκειν [3006 1?].  
προσλαμβάνειν [3009 21].  
προσπίπτειν 3006 7.  
πρότερον 3009 4.  
προφρονέως 3002 3.  
πρύμνα 3003 i 19.  
πύλη 3001<sup>1</sup> 6.  
πυθάνεσθαι [3003 ii 5].  
πῶς 3010 28bis 3012 3?  
  
ράδιως 3024 17.  
ρέζειν [3001<sup>1</sup> 12].  
  
σαφής 3010 40.  
σεαυτοῦ 3006 18.  
σιωπή 3010 14.  
\*εκαθάβαξ 3000 *schol.* 14?  
σκω- 3010 27.  
σμίλη *see* ζμειλεῖν.  
σός 3002 12, 16 3007 i 15 3010 24?, 24, 32? *see also*  
τέος.  
σπουδή 3012 13.  
στείχειν 3024 18.  
στρατιώτης 3009 5?  
στρατός 3002 14.  
σχῆμα 3008 10.  
σύ 3001<sup>1</sup> 10 3002 8, 9, 10, 20bis, 21, 23, 25 3003 ii  
15 3004 3? 3007 i 13 3010 16?, 19, 30 3011 14  
[3012 3?].  
σῶαξ 3003 i 19?  
συμβαίνειν 3003 i 15.  
σύμμαχος 3004 11?  
συμμάχης 3010 5.  
συμπαθής [3005 i 8] 3006 13.  
συμφέρειν 3009 15.  
συμφορά 3013 23.  
σύν 3002 20.  
συν(-) 3003 ii 12.  
σύνεδρος 3009 3.  
συνειδέαι 3010 25.  
συνερίνειν 3002 3.  
συνερώσα 3005 ii 6 (*tit.*)  
συνήθεια 3010 20.  
συνήθης 3007 i 15.  
συνιστάειν 3000 *schol.* 6.  
συνοδία 3006 23?  
συντρίβειν 3007 i 7, 10.  
σφαγιάζειν 3013 28.

σώζειν [3006 26].  
σῶμα 3008 3, 6, 7.  
σωτήρ 3006 21.  
σωφρονεῖν [3005 ii 2?].  
  
τάριχον 3007 i 9.  
ταχίστην, τήν 3009 8.  
τε 3001<sup>1</sup> 4 [3003 i 16] 3004 8 3005 i 9 3010 24?  
τειχίζειν 3003 i 6.  
τελεῖν 3010 5.  
τέλειος 3010 37.  
τελευτᾶν 3003 i 16.  
τέος 3002 4.  
τέτταρες 3005 i 15.  
τεύχειν 3002 24.  
Τηρέως 3013 1 (*tit.*), 5, 11, 33.  
τίκτειν 3003 ii 16 3006 3.  
τιμᾶν 3004 9.  
τίς [3007 i 1?] 3008 14 3010 19, 21?  
τις 3000 *schol.* 13 3001<sup>1</sup> 12, 13 3002 21 3005 i  
10, 19.  
τοῖων 3007 i 12.  
τοσάκι 3001<sup>1</sup> 8.  
τρεῖς 3011 4? (*em.*).  
τρέφειν 3002 9 3003 14.  
τρι(-) 3005 ii 12?  
Τροία 3002 19.  
τρόπος 3005 i 11.  
τρογᾶν 3006 24.  
τροφή 3005 i 18.  
Τρώες 3002 1, 14.  
τύπος [3008 13].  
τύχη 3004 13 3006 4 3010 12.  
  
ἔδωρ 3011 7.  
ἔειν 3000 *schol.* 7.  
υἱός 3002 12 3003 i 17 3013 7.  
Υἱός 2999 10.  
ὑμεῖς 3009 4?, 9.  
ὑπέρ 3009 12.  
ἕπνος 3006 5.  
ὑπό 3003 i 17 3006 26 3010 1, 34 3013 13.  
ὑποδρήσσειν 3002 20.  
ὑπόθεσις [3013 1].  
ἕστατος 3003 i 12.

φαίνεσθαι 3008 9.  
φάναι 3003 i 19 3007 i 5 3008 16 3012 4.  
φάσανον 3002 3, 8, 15.  
φάσις 3010 29.  
φείδεσθαι 3002 19.  
φέρειν 3006 7.  
φεύγειν 3003 ii 13 [3006 23?] 3010 28.  
φιλεῖν 3001<sup>1</sup> 14.  
φιλία 3004 2.  
Φιλομήλα 3013 3, [21].  
φίλος 3005 i 8 3010 38, 40.  
Φλεγυάι 3003 i 3bis, 8.  
φονεύς 3002 10.  
φορεῖν 3010 8.  
φρόνησις [3006 16] 3024 16.  
φυγαδεύειν [3013 31].  
φυλάσσειν 3006 8 3013 16.  
φυρᾶν 3000 *schol.* 15.  
φύσις 3005 i 6.  
φῶς [3004 3?].

χαίρειν [3009 3] 3010 14 3011 23.  
χαλκός 3002 18.  
χαρακτήρ 3008 15.  
χάρις 3004 6 3005 i 4, 7, 9, 10, 11 [3006 24].  
χέρ 3002 1, 7 3003 ii 15 [3004 14?].  
χείρων 3007 i 3.  
Χείρων 3002 23.  
χελιδόν [3013 32].  
χήρα 3001<sup>1</sup> 11.  
χρήσθαι 3007 i 19.  
χρόνος 3010 33 3013 8.  
χρυσός [3010 41].  
χρυσός 3003 i 7.  
χρῶμα 3008 11.

ψέγειν 3006 11.  
ψυχή 3001<sup>1</sup> 4.

Ϝ 3007 i 13 3012 3?  
Ϝ 3005 ii 12?  
ᾠνος 3005 i 17.  
ὤς 3004 3 3005 ii 8 3011 14.  
ὤσπερ 3007 i 15.  
ὄστε 3010 31.

## II. EMPERORS AND REGNAL YEARS

## AUGUSTUS

Καῖσαρ ἀνίκητος ἦρωσ 3020<sup>1</sup> ii 1.  
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ (καίσαρος *par.*) Σεβαστός ἀρχιερεὺς δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ' αὐτοκράτωρ [τὸ  
]β' (10/9 B.C.) 3020<sup>1</sup> i 1-3.

## TIBERIUS

Τιβέριος Year 2 3047 25 Year 12 3047 31.

## VESPASIAN, TITUS

θεοὶ Οὐεσπασιανὸς καὶ Τίτος 3047 5, 9, 19, 24, 35, 37.

## DOMITIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς Year 8 3051 11-12.

## TRAJAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Νέρουας Τραιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημοκρατικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ β' ἕπατος <τὸ β'> (A.D. 98) 3022 1-3.  
θεὸς Τραιανὸς Year 12 3015 6 Year unknown 3015 13.

## HADRIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τραιανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς Year 2 3025 6 Year unknown [3018 12].  
θεὸς Ἀδριανὸς 3018 11.

## ANTONINUS PIUS

Ἀντωνίνος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος Year 11 3016 2.  
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Εὐσεβῆς Year 11 3034 3-6, 8-11.  
Years 15-22 3026 i 22-3.

## MARCUS AURELIUS AND VERUS

Ἀντωνίνος καὶ Οὐῆρος οἱ κύριοι αὐτοκράτορες Year 4 3026 i 17-18 Year 6 3026 [i 7], back 2-3?  
Year unknown 3026 ii 26.  
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Οὐῆρος Σεβαστὸς Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος Year 7(?) 3027 6-8.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

?Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος] Περτίναξ [ 3072 7.  
Cf. Index V. s.v.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβητικὸς Παρθικὸς Μέγιστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστὸς Year unknown 3018 1-3.  
Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Λούκ. Σεπτ. Σεου. Εὐσ. Περτ. Ἀραβ. Ἀδιαβ. Παρθ. Μέγ. καὶ Μάρκ. Αὐρ. Ἀντ. Εὐσ. Σεβαστοὶ Year 15(?) 3030 17-20.  
Year 8 3018 5.

## ELAGABALUS or SEVERUS ALEXANDER

ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ . . . Year 2 3032 8.

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος Year 9 3077 7.  
?Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος] Αὐρήλιος [Σεουήρος Ἀλέξανδρος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς (and Julia Mamaea) 3073 9.

## PHILIPPI

Μάρκοι Ἰούλιοι Φίλιπποι Καίσαρες οἱ κύριοι Year 2 3046 11-13 Year 3 3049 A 9-10, B 12-13  
(+ Σεβαστοί).  
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς καὶ Μάρκος Ἰούλιος Φίλιππος Γενναίωτατος καὶ Ἐπιφανέστατος Καίσαρ Σεβαστοὶ Year 2 3047 40-2 Year 4 3049 A 20-3.  
Year 3 3048 9, 24  
Various years 3047 4 et passim.

## DECIUS

[Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γάιος Μέεσιος Κύντος] Τραιανὸς Δέκιος Year 1? 3071 19.

## GALLUS AND VOLUSIANUS

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Γάιος Οὐίβιος Τρεβωνιανὸς Γάλλος καὶ Γάιος Οὐίβιος Ἀφίνιος Γάλλος Οὐελδουμανὸς Οὐόλουσιανὸς Εὐσεβεῖς Εὐτυχεῖς Σεβαστοὶ Year 3 3053 1-4.

## VALERIAN AND GALLIENUS

Οὐαλεριανὸς καὶ Γαλληνὸς Σεβαστοὶ Year 3 3035 6.

## VALERIAN (I or II?)

] Οὐαλεριανὸς ὁ πρεσβύτερος [ 3029 6.

## GALLIENUS?

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος(?) <Γαλληνὸς> Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος Εὐσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς Year 12(?) 3054 1-2.

## DIOCLETIAN

Διοκλῆς Year 1 3055 7.  
Year 1 3056 4.

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, AUGUSTI, CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS, CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς σεβαστοὶ καὶ Κωνσταντῖος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καίσαρες Year 14 = 13 = 6 3036 4-8 3037 4-9, 22-7 3038 5-12 3041 i(?) Year 15 = 14 = 7 3041 9.  
οἱ κυρ. ἡμ. Διοκλ. καὶ Μαξ. καὶ Κωνστ. καὶ Μαξ. σεβαστοὶ Year 13 = 12 = 5 3039 3-7 3040 3-6.

## MAXIMINUS AND CONSTANTINE?

Year 5 = 3? 3042 2.

## GALERIUS AND MAXIMINUS

Year 20 = 8 3043 7.

## MAXIMINUS, CONSTANTINE, AND LICINIUS

Year 9 = 7 = 3 3044 1.

## CONSTANTINE AND LICINIUS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Λικίνιος σεβαστοὶ Year 8 = 6 3044 12.  
Year 5 = 3? 3042 2.  
Year 10 = 8 3045 2.

## III. CONSULS

Κεουήρω καὶ Οὐκτωρεῖνω ὑπάτοις A.D. 200 3019 2-3.  
ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Ἀλβεῖνου τὸ [β] καὶ Δέκτρον A.D. 263 3054 10-11.  
See also Index II (Trajan).

## IV. MONTHS AND DAYS

## (a) MONTHS

Ἀθύρ 3053 5.  
Γερμανίκεος 3051 12.  
Δεκεμβρίων (εἰδῶν) 3018 10 (δεκενβ- pap.).  
Δίος 3054 20.  
Ἐπιφ 3025 6 3050 ii 35 3053 18 3065 10, 23  
3081 6.  
Θώθ 3026 back 2 3043 7.  
Δῶος (= Παῦνι) 3054 3.  
Μαρτίων (εἰδῶν) 3019 4.  
Μεσορή 3029 3.  
Μεχέρ 3026 i 22 3036 13 3048 22 3049 A 23  
[3052 2] (3063 26).

Νέος Σεβαστός 3053 4.  
Παῦνι 3016 3 3030 head 3039 12 3041 10  
3054 3.  
Παχῶν 3015 6 3026 i [6], 18, back 2 3030 21.  
Τῶβι 3015 13 3032 6.  
Φαμενώθ 3035 7 3037 15, 33 3038 20 3047 42  
3048 5, 9, 24 3055 8 3056 4.  
Φαρμῶθι (3018 5) [3030 20] 3032 7 3034 12.  
Φαῶφι 3026 i 23 3042 3.  
Φεβραρίαις (εἰδοῖς) 3054 11.  
Χοιάκ 3028 i 3040 8.

## (b) DAYS

εἰδοί 3018 10 3019 3 3054 11.  
ἡμέρα Ἐρμού 3026 i 7?

## V. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀγαθοκλῆς see Index VI (d) s.v. παρεμβολή Ἀγ.  
Ἀγαθος 3082 1, 13.  
Ἀγριππίνη, m. of Arius 3065 1, 24, 26.  
Ἄδρακτος 3063 5.  
Ἀθηναῖος, f. of Theon 3059 8.  
Ἀθηνοδωρος 3015 7.  
Αἴλιος Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Σεργῆνος, (ex-)strategus of  
Metelite 3026 i 14, back 1.  
Αἴλιος Διογένης(?) 3034 13.  
Αἴλιος Ἡρακλείδης, P. 3046 24.  
Αἰμίλιος [Σατορνῖνος? (praef. Aeg.)] 3072 8.  
Ἀκύλας 3069 1, 27.  
Ἀλβεῖνος see Index III.  
Ἀλέξανδρος 3085 7.  
Ἀλέξανδρος see also Index VI(d).  
Ἀλφειος Λόγγος, xenokrites 3016 10.  
Ἄμ- see Ἰούλιος Ἄ.  
Ἀμεινεύς, flute-player (or s. of Auletes) 3058 18.  
Ἄμμ-, f. of Julianus (?) 3079 3.  
Ἄμμων, guard 3055 3 3056 1.  
Ἀμμώνιος 3057 1.  
Ἀμμώνιος, Aur., procurator Alexandreae 3031 1.

Ἀμμώνιος, chicken-man 3055 2 3056 1.  
Ἀμμώνιος, royal scribe 3030 1, [back 2?].  
Ἀμμώνιος, s. of Antinous 3043 5.  
Ἀμμώνιος, s. of Craton 3046 34.  
Ἀμμώνιος see also Ἰλίος Ἄ.  
Ἀμμωνοῦς, d. of Sarapammon, gd.-d. of Phantias,  
sist. of Aur. Didymus alias Antonius et al. 3049  
A 2, 4, B 3, 5.  
Ἄννιος Διογένης, procurator Heptanomia 3031 2,  
back.  
Ἄνουβίων 3050 i 36.  
Ἄνουβίων, s. of Aphynchis 3039 8.  
Ἄνουβίων see also Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἄ.  
Ἀντίνοος, f. of Ammonius 3043 4.  
Ἀντίνοος, s. of Eudaemon 3037 19.  
Ἀντίοχος, s. of Sarapion, gd.-s. of Exacon 3047 14.  
Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος, Aur., in charge of farm  
of agoranomeion 3053 5.  
Ἀντωνῖνος, Aur., procurator πρὸς ταῖς ἐπισκέψεις  
3046 7.  
Ἀντώνιος see Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἄ.  
Ἀπίων 3070 1.

Ἀπολλι- 3016 22.  
Ἀπολλινᾶρις see Κάκκιος Ἄ., Ὠμέ[ριος](?) Ἄ.  
Ἀπολλογένης 3063 1, 25.  
Ἀπολλώνιος 3015 8.  
Ἀπολλώνιος 3066 1, 20.  
Ἀπολλώνιος, br. of Didyme and Theonas 3059 1.  
Ἀπολλώνιος, secretary 3058 8.  
Ἀπολλώνιος, secretary to court-clerk Theon 3062  
14.  
Ἀπολλώνιος, s. of Apollonius?, surveyor 3057 1, 31.  
Ἀπολλώνιος, s. of Ptolemaeus 3061 19.  
Ἀπολλώνιος see also Διδώρος ὁ καὶ Ἄ.  
Ἄπτος see Προκόπτων.  
Ἄφους, captain 3079 3, 8.  
Ἄρειος, s. of Agrippina and Cornelius, br. of  
Stephanus 3065 1, 25, 27.  
Ἄρειος, s. of Ptolemaeus, br. of Sarapion 3015 6.  
Ἄριος 3040 6.  
Ἄρποκράτης(?), Alexandrian envoy 3020 i ii 6.  
Ἄρποκρατίων, Aur., strategus 3032 1.  
Ἄρσᾶς(?), myrrh-seller 3065 24, 26.  
Ἄρτεμίδωρος, noticius 3015 9, 16.  
Ἄρτεμίδωρος see also Index VI(d).  
Ἄρχελαος, s. of Heraclas, secretary to strategus  
Theon 3061 1, 21 3062 1, 17.  
Ἄσκληπιάδης, Aur., ex-gymnasiarch, prytanis,  
senator, decaprotus 3049 A 6, B 8.  
Ἄτλιανός see Κλαύδιος Ἄ.  
Ἀύλητης(?) see Ἀμεινεύς.  
Ἀζάνουσα 3065 11.  
Ἀύρηλία see -τις.  
Ἀύρηλιος see Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ Διονύσιος,  
Ἄντωνῖνος, Ἄρποκρατίων, Ἄσκληπιάδης, Ἄφους,  
Δετων, Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος, Διόσκορος,  
Ἐρμοκλ., Ζήνων Ἰαγρονάριος, Θέων, Ἰέραξ,  
Ἰουλιανός Μάξιμος, Καλλίνικος, Μαρκιανός ὁ  
καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, Ματρεάς(?), Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος,  
Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων, Πολυτικός, Σαραπιακός,  
Σαραπίων, Σερηνοθέων, Τιβέριος.  
Ἄφους, Aur., taxman 3043 8.  
Ἀφύγχις, f. of Anubion 3039 8.  
Ἀχιλλεύς 3066 4.  
Ἀχιλλίαν, strategus of the Marmarica 3067 1, 16.  
  
Βαβίδιος Ῥοῦφος, xenokrites 3016 6.  
Βαλκαμέα, Mesopotamian slave-girl 3053 15.  
  
Γάιος see Ἰούλιος Πόστομος.  
Γέμνος see Κλ(αύδιος) Γ.  
  
Δετων, M. Aur., s. of Silvanus (?) 3053 14.  
Δέκτρος see Index III.  
Δημητ( ) see Χαϊρήμων ὁ καὶ Δ.

Δημήτριος, f. of Isidorus, gd.-f. of M. Aur. Mar-  
cianus alias Heracles 3053 8.  
Δημήτριος, gymnasiarch 3063 4.  
Δημήτριος, strategus 3025 1, 7.  
Διδ[ ] 3015 14.  
Διδύμη 3059 1, back.  
Δίδυμος 3031 3.  
Δίδυμος, systates 3039 12 3040 9.  
Δίδυμος ὁ καὶ Ἀντώνιος, Aur., senator, s. of Sara-  
pammon, gd.-s. of Phantias, etc. 3049 A 1, B 1.  
Δίδυμος see also Αἴλιος Δ., Μετίλιος Δ., Πάλλας ὁ  
καὶ Δ.  
Διεύς, m. of Aur. Matres(?) 3077 2.  
Διογ- see Αἴλιος Δ.  
Διογένης 3063 1.  
Διογένης 3081 3.  
Διογένης see also Ἄννιος Δ.  
Διδώρος ὁ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος 3047 13.  
Διων( ) (ex-)exegetes 3034 12.  
Διονύσιος 3019 14.  
Διονύσιος 3067 8.  
Διονύσιος, f. of Isidorus 3021 i 6.  
Διονύσιος, f. of Paulus 3037 11.  
Διονύσιος, s. of Pataesis 3064 9.  
Διονύσιος see also Ἀντίπατρος ὁ καὶ Δ., Φλ(άουιος) Δ.  
Διόσκορος 3083 1.  
Διόσκορος, tax-farmer 3087 4, 12, 18.  
Διόσκορος, M. Aur., boat-owner 3053 18.  
Διόσκορος ὁ καὶ Ἄνουβίων, royal scribe of Metelite  
3026 i 15.  
Δωρίων, eclogistes of Metelite 3026 i 10, 14.  
Δωσίθεος see Index VI(b).

Εἶος, M., ex-praef. Aeg. 3033 6.  
Ἐκουίτιος Κλαυδιανός, xenokrites 3016 8.  
Ἐξακῶν, f. of Sarapion, gd.-f. of Antiochus 3047  
14.  
Ἐπαφρόδιτος 3070 2, 10.  
Ἐπικράτης see Index VI(d).  
Ἐπιμάς 3070 2.  
Ἐπίμαχος, assistant to systates 3040 10.  
Ἐπίμαχος, f. of Ptolemaeus 3046 23.  
Ἐρρηνιανός 3028 10, see also Κλαύδιος Ἐ.  
Ἐρμείας 3085 1.  
Ἐρμείνος, Hermopolite doctor 3078 2.  
Ἐρμῆς 3062 8.  
Ἐρμοκλ., Aur., 3050 ii 21.  
Ἐυάγγελος 3058 20.  
Ἐυδαίμων, f. of Antinous 3037 19.  
Ἐυδαμία see Καλπουρνία Ἡράκλεια ἡ καὶ Εὐ.  
Ἐυλόγιος, s. of Matrinus, boat-owner 3079 8.

Ζακάων, s. of Lucius, donkey-driver 3042 6.



Ζήνων 'Ια[γνουάριος, Aur., *dux* 3077 4.

\*'Ηιος *see* Εἶος.

\*'Ηλιας, taxman 3044 8.

\*'Ηρακλᾶς, f. of Archelaus 3061 1.

\*'Ηρακλεῦ- 3050 i 37.

\*'Ηράκλεια *see* Καλπουρνία 'Η.

\*'Ηρακλείδης, f. of Polydeuces 3046 20.

\*'Ηρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Πανάρης, f. of Aur. Sarapion 3046 3.

\*'Ηρακλείδης *see also* Αἴλιος 'Η.

\*'Ηράκλειος 3084 1.

\*'Ηράκλειος, ship's captain 3079 6.

\*'Ηράκλειος 3087 10.

\*'Ηράκλειος, f. of Paulus, 3044 4 3045 3.

\*'Ηρακλῆς *see* Μαρκιανός ὁ καὶ 'Η.

Θαῆσις, d. of Horus, m. of Philadelphus 3033 2.

Θεαγένης 3064 1.

Θεμιστοκλῆς, procurator 3084 1, 8.

Θεόδωρος, Alexandrian envoy 3020 1 ii 5.

Θέων, Aur. [3077 11?].

Θέων, court-clerk (to strategus Theon?) 3062 15.

Θέων, s. of Athenaeus 3059 8.

Θέων, s. of Ptolion, f. of Ptolion 3033 introd.

Θέων, strategus of Panopolite 3062 17.

Θέων *see also* Καλπούρνιος Θ., Κλαύδιος Θ., Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θ.

Θεωνᾶς, br. of Apollonius 3059 6.

Θώνις, f. of Lastas 3061 10.

\*'Ιανουάριος *see* Ζήνων 'Ι.

\*'Ιερακαπόλλων 3067 1, 15.

\*'Ιέραξ, Aur., secretary 3047 [3], 43.

\*'Ιουλία Μαμαία, m. of imp. Severus Alexander 3073 10?

\*'Ιουλιανός, s. of Amm-(?), boat-owner 3079 3.

\*'Ιουλιανός Μάξιμος, Aur., senator 3054 12 (Α. εργα 'Ι. Μ.), 18.

\*'Ιούλιος Αμ- 3076 6.

\*'Ιούλιος Μαξιμιανός, epistrategus 3025 2, 7.

\*'Ιούλιος Μάξιμος, *xenokrites* 3016 11.

\*'Ιούλιος Μινερούλις, *xenokrites* 3016 5.

\*'Ιούλιος Πρόκλος, C., *praef. Aeg.* 3033 1.

\*'Ιούλιος Πρόκλος, *xenokrites* 3016 8.

\*'Ιούλιος φρατος, *xenokrites* 3016 9.

\*'Ιοβετος *see* Κάλοιος 'Ι.

\*'Ιεῖδωρος, s. of Demetrius, f. of M. Aur. Marcianus alias Heracles 3053 8.

\*'Ιεῖδωρος, s. of Dionysius, Alexandrian envoy 3021 i 6.

Καλλίνικος 3069 5.

Καλλίνικος, Aur., br. of Aur. Didymus alias Antonius *et al.* 3049 A 6, B 8.

Καλπουρνία 'Ηράκλεια ἡ καὶ Εὐδαμία, d. of Calpurnius Theon 3047 2, 43 3048 11.

Καλπούρνιος 3083 3.

Καλπούρνιος (Καρπουγγίος pap.), f. of Cornelius 3036 10.

Καλπούρνιος Θέων, f. of Calpurnia Heraclia alias Eudamia, ex-fellow of the Museum 3047 3 3048 12.

Κάνωπος 3031 4.

Κάσσιος Απολλινάρις, *xenokrites* 3016 9.

Κάσσιος Λιβερᾶλις, *xenokrites* 3016 7.

Κλαυδιανός *see* 'Εκουτίτιος Κ.

Κλαύδιος [ ], f. of [Claudius] -inus 3051 9.

Κλαύδιος [ ], Ti., Alexandrian envoy 3021 i 5.

Κλαύδιος Ατυλιανός 3023 ii 7.

Κλα(αύ)διος Γέμνος, *xenokrites* 3016 7.

Κλαύδιος [Ερηνιανός], Ti., *iuridicus*, acting *praef. Aeg.* 3076 8, cf. 3028 10.

Κλαύδιος Θέων, Ti., ex-gymnasiarch and ex-agoranomus of Alexandria 3051 1, 4.

Κλαύ[διος] Μασκουλείνος, ex-*praef. Aeg.* 3077 5.

[Κλαυδιος] -εινος, steward of Ti. Claudius Theon, s. of Claudius [ ] 3051 1.

Κολλοῦθος 3086 1.

Κοπρέυς called Choous, s. of Philiscus 3038 13.

Κοπρής, cook 3048 22.

Κορνήλιος, f. of Arius 3065 1.

Κορνήλιος, s. of Calpurnius 3036 9.

Κράτων, f. of Ammonius 3046 34.

Κύριλλα 3050 ii 40.

Λαστάς, s. of Thonis 3061 10.

Λευκάδιος, boat-owner 3079 5.

Λεωνᾶς 3057 29.

Λι- boat-owner 3079 1.

Λιβερᾶλις *see* Κάσσιος Α.

Λίβων *see* Πετρίρις ὁ καὶ Α.

Λισσῆσιος Πρόκλος (*iuridicus*?) 3050 ii 26, 29, 38.

Λόγγος *see* Άλφειος Α.

Λούκιος, f. of Zacaon 3042 6.

Μάγνος *see* Πακτουμήσιος Μ.

Μαμαία *see* 'Ιου[λία] Μ.

Μαξιμιανός *see* 'Ιούλιος Μ.

Μάξιμος *see* 'Ιουλιανός Μ., 'Ιούλιος Μ., Ούίβιος Μ.

Μαρκιανός ὁ καὶ 'Ηρακλῆς, M. Aur., s. of Isidorus, gd.-s. of Demetrius 3053 8, 20.

Μάρκιος Καλουτάρσιος (*procurator Augustorum*) 3050 i 9.

Μάρκος *see* Δε-των, Διόσκορος, Εἶος, Μαρκιανός ὁ καὶ 'Ηρακλῆς.

Μασκουλείνος *see* Κλαύ[διος] Μ.

Ματρεάς(?), Aur., m. Dieus 3077 1, 12.

Ματρίσιος, f. of Eulogius 3079 8.

Μέλας, carpenter 3066 13.

Μέλας, secretary 3055 1.

Μενεκράτης *see* Index VI(b) s.v. ἐποίκιον.

Μενίκκος *see* Index VI(d).

Μετίλιος Δίδυμος, *xenokrites* 3016 6.

Μηρόδωρος *see* Index VI(d).

Μήσιος 'Ονωρατι]ανός (*praef. Aeg.*) 3073 13?

Μινερούλις *see* 'Ιούλιος Μ.

Μολλιανός(?), senator (for ever?) 3054 21 (...ιδ-δθ. |μολ. ανου pap.).

Μωρίων, systates(?) 3042 10.

Μῶρος 3058 1.

Μῶρος 3066 12.

Νεῖλος 3086 2.

Νεμεσιανός 3086 1.

Νουνείχιον 3087 1.

'Ονωρατιανός *see* Μήσιος 'Ο.

\*'Οριος 3036 16?

Ούίβιος Μάξιμος (*praef. Aeg.*) 3024 2.

Ούμ[έ]ριος(?) Απολλινάρις, *xenokrites* 3016 10.

Πακτουμήσιος Μάγνος, T., *praef. Aeg.* 3017 1.

Πάλλας ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος, Aur., s. of Sarapammon, gd.-s. of Phanius, etc. 3049 A 2 (πας, ac pap.), B 2.

Πανάρης *see* 'Ηρακλείδης ὁ καὶ Π.

Πανεχώτης 3064 1.

Πανεχώτης, f. of Petsiris alias Libo 3051 3.

Πασῆς(?) 3061 3 (πασῆσιος gen. pap.).

Παταῆσις, f. of Dionysius 3064 9.

Πατάρσις (or -ρεῖς) 3087 1.

Παῦλος, s. of Dionysius 3037 11.

Παῦλος, s. of Heraclius, carpet-man 3044 4 (*gen. Παυλους* 'Ηρακλεου), 14? 3045 3 (*gen. Παυλις* 'Ηρακληου).

Πέκυλλος ὁ καὶ Θέων, Aur., ex-gymnasiarch, ex-prytanis, senator 3048 13.

Πετρίρις 3080 1.

Πετοσοράπις, s. of Horus, Christian(?) 3035 4.

Πετρίρις ὁ καὶ Λίβων, s. of Panechotes 3051 3, 6?, 10.

Πίος *see* Φλ(άουσιος) Π.

Πλάντας *see* Πομπείος Π.

Πλουτίων 3080 1.

Πολιτικός, Aur., tax official 3045 6.

Πολυδεύκης 3066 14.

Πολυδεύκης, s. of Heraclides 3046 20.

Πολύνικκος *see* Index VI(d).

Πομπείος Πλάντας, *amicus imperatoris, praef. Aeg.* 3022 12.

Πόστομος *see* 'Ιούλιος Π.

Πούπλιος *see* Αἴλιος 'Ηρακλείδης.

Πρόκλος *see* 'Ιούλιος Π., Λισσῆσιος Π.

Προκόπτων, renamed Aptus, slave 3054 14.

Πτολεμαῖος 3060 1, 17.

Πτολεμαῖος 3087 9.

Πτολεμαῖος, archepiphodus 3058 10, 14.

Πτολεμαῖος, f. of Apollonius (3061 19).

Πτολεμαῖος, f. of Arius and Sarapion 3015 7.

Πτολεμαῖος, s. of Epimachus 3046 22.

Πτολεμαῖος, s. of Sarapion, gd.-s. of Sarapion 3046 26.

Πτολλίων, f. of Theon, gd.-f. of Ptolion 3033 introd.

Πτολλίων, s. of Theon, gd.-s. of Ptolion 3033 introd. (*bis*).

'Ρούφος *see* Βαβίδιος 'Ρ.

Σάλβιος 3057 23.

Σάλβιος, ship's captain 3079 5.

Σάλουος 'Ιόβετος, deputy high-priest 3026 i 19.

Σαουτάρσιος *see* Μάρκιος Σ.

Σαραπάμμων 3066 1, 20.

Σαραπάμμων, ex-gymnasiarch, s. of Phanius, f. of Aur. Didymus alias Antonius, Pallas alias Didymus, and Ammonous 3049 A 2, B 3.

Σαραπάς 3058 19.

Σαραπάς 3060 2.

Σαραπακός, Aur. 3083 1.

Σαραπίων 3036 19 3062 1 3063 17 3085 1.

Σαραπίων, Aur., s. of Heraclides alias Panares, ex-agoranomus of Antinoopolis 3046 2.

Σαραπίων, f. of Sarapion, gd.-f. of Ptolemaeus 3046 27.

Σαραπίων, philosopher 3069 1, 26.

Σαραπίων, s. of Exacon, f. of Antiochus 3047 14.

Σαραπίων, s. of Ptolemaeus, br. of Arius 3015 6.

Σαραπίων, s. of Sarapion, f. of Ptolemaeus 3046 27.

Σαραπίων, s. of Terentius, practor's secretary 3027 2.

Σαραπίων, *speculator*, boat-owner 3079 6.

Σαραπίων, systates 3036 14 3037 16, 34 3038 21 3041 11.

Σαρμάτης 3068 2.

Σάτυρος *see* Index VI(b).

Σενέκας, L. Annaeus *see* Index VI(d) s.v. *Σενεκιανή ούσία*.

Σεουήρος *see* Σεπτίμιος Σ.

Σεπτίμια Ε...γα, d. of Septimius Severus 3054 24.

Σεπτίμιος Σεουήρος, f. of Septimia ... 3054 24.

Σερρηοθέων, Aur., in charge of farm of agoranomeion 3054 4.

Κερήνος *see* Αἴλιος Δίδυμος δ καὶ C.  
 Σεύθης 3033 5.  
 Σιλβανός, agent 3041 7.  
 Σιλβανός, f. of M. Aur. De. ton (?) 3053 14.  
 Σίμιλις *see* Σουλπίκιος C.  
 Σίμων, f. of Aurelia -tis 3054 6.  
 Σουλπίκιος Σίμιλις, *praef. Aeg.* 3015 8, 14.  
 Στέφανος, br. of Arius 3065 4, 19.  
 Σύρος 3086 2.  
 Σώστρατος *see* Index VI(d).  
 Σώτας 3063 5.  
 Σωτηρίς 3069 22.

T]αχώνεις 3050 i 33?  
 Τερέντιος, f. of Sarapion 3027 2.  
 Τιβέριος, Aur., *iuridicus* 3048 1, 11.  
 Τιβέριος *see also* Κλαύδιος [Ἐρηνειανός], Κλαύδιος  
 Θέων.

Τίτος *see* Πακτουμήσιος Μάγνος.  
 Τρύφων 3015 13.  
 Τρύφων 3060 12, 16.

Φανίας, f. of Sarapammon, gd.-f. of Aur. Didymus  
*alias* Antonius *et al.* 3049 A 3, B 4.

Φανίας, village scribe (?) 3082 1, 13.  
 Φιλάδελφος, s. of Thaeasis 3033 4.  
 Φίλικκος, f. of Copres 3038 15.  
 Φλάνιος 3058 1.  
 Φλ(άουιος) Διονύσιος, *xenokrites* 3016 10.  
 Φλ(άουιος) Πίος, *xenokrites* 3016 5.

Χαιρήμων δ καὶ Δημητ( ), guardian of Calpurnia  
 Heraclia *alias* Eudamia 3048 14.  
 Χαρμόδωνος 3081 5.  
 Χοοῦς (*gen.*) *see* Κοπρέυς.

\*Ωρίς 3060 1, 17.  
 \*Ωρος, f. of Petosorapis 3035 4.  
 \*Ωρος, f. of Thaeasis, gd.-f. of Philadelphus 3033 2.

-κίλιος 3026 i 4.  
 ]λιος Ἀμμώνιος, *xenokrites* 3016 12.  
 ..]πῶς, cook 3048 22.  
 -τις, Aurelia, d. of Simon, from Bostra in Syria  
 3054 5.

## VI. GEOGRAPHICAL

### (a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

Ἀδιαβηνικός *see* Index II (Sept. Sev. and Caracalla).  
 Αἰγύπτιος 3014 14 3015 3, 11 3019 11 (3061 13).  
 Αἰγυπτὸς 3020 i ii 5 3052 2 *see also* Index VII s.v.  
 ἑπαρχὸς Αἰγύπτου.  
 Ἀλεξάνδρεια 3019 4 [3020 i i 10?] 3051 2 [3073  
 17] *see also* Index VII s.v. ἐπίτροπος Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρείας.  
 Ἀλεξανδρεύς 3020 i i 3, ii 2 [3021 i 9] [3022 3?].  
 Ἀντινοεύς 3071 7 *see also next*.  
 Ἀντινοέων πόλις 3046 5.  
 Ἀντινόου (sc. πόλις) 3069 21.  
 Ἀντιοχεύς 3023 ii 5?  
 ἀπηλιώτην, ἡ πρὸς ἄ. τοπαρχία (3047 1).  
 Ἀραβία (toparchy) [3074 3?].  
 Ἀραβικόν 3074 7 *see also* Index II (Sept. Sev. and  
 Caracalla).  
 Ἀρμενιακός *see* Index II (Marc. Aur. and Verus).  
 Ἀρσινόη 3018 6; (nome) (3030 2).  
 Ἀσσηνία Τρίπολις (Phoenicia) 3053 13.  
 Ἀφροδιτώ 3052 9.  
 Βαβυλών 3052 8.  
 Βόστρα (Syria) 3054 6, 10.  
 Γαλατία 3020 i i 4.

Γερμανικός *see* Index II (Domitian, Gallienus).  
 \*Ἑλλην 3018 13.  
 \*Ἑλληνικός 3053 12 3054 10.  
 \*Ἑπτανομία *see* Index VII s.v. ἐπίτροπος Ἑπτα-  
 νομίας.  
 \*Ἐρμοπολίτης 3078 3.  
 \*Ἐρμού πόλις 3052 3.  
 \*Ἡρακλεοπολίτης (nome) 3084 4.  
 Θεμίστου μερίς 3030 2 (22).  
 Κινοπολίτης ἄνω 3029 8.  
 Λαδικηρός *see* Index XII.  
 Μαρμαρική 3067 17.  
 Μέμφις 3052 9 (μεμφεῖς pap.).  
 μέση τοπαρχία 3049 B 10.  
 \*Μεσοποταμικός 3053 16.  
 Μετηλίτης (nome) 3026 i [10], 14, (back 1).  
 Μηδικός *see* Index II (Marc. Aur. and Verus).  
 Μικρὰ "Οασις 3033 3.  
 Νετλη 3052 5?  
 Νικόπολις 3052 2.  
 ὄσις 3050 ii 3 *see also* Μικρὰ "Ο.  
 \*Οξυρυγχίτ- 3028 8.  
 \*Οξυρυγχίτης (nome) 3025 1, 7 3027 1 [3029 8?]  
 3031 3 3032 2 3063 17? [3065 26?].

## VI. GEOGRAPHICAL

\*Οξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις (3048 14) 3049 A 1, 3, (B 2,  
 4(*del.*)).  
 \*Οξυρύγχων πόλις (3053 5) 3054 3 (3077 3).  
 \*Οσροηνός 3053 14, 15.  
 Πανοπολίτης (nome) (3062 17).  
 Παρθικός *see* Index II (Marc. Aur. and Verus,  
 Sept. Sev. and Caracalla).

\*Ρωμαία [3014 16].  
 \*Ρωμαίος 3049 A 5, B 6, 7.  
 Σπανός 3060 3.  
 Συρία 3054 6 3076 2.  
 Τρίπολις *see* Ἀσσηνία T.  
 Τύροι? 3023 i 12.  
 Φωνίκη 3053 13.

### (b) VILLAGES, ETC.

Ἄγνοῦ 3026 i 13, 19.  
 Βακκιάς (?) 3087 6.  
 Δωσιθέου 3048 16.  
 \*Ἐλικῶν, τὰ ὄρια τοῦ Ἐλικῶνος 3087 5.  
 ἐποίκιον Μενεκράτους λεγόμενον 3046 18.  
 Ζμείν 3062 4.  
 Θμουνακωμ( ) 3047 [4], 44.  
 Θμουνηφῶβις 3047 9, 45 3048 17.  
 Θῶλις [3066 5?].  
 \*Ἰσίον Τρύφωνος 3048 17.  
 Καινή 3052 10? (κεν. pap.).  
 Λευκογείον 3052 10(*del.*).  
 Λίλη 3048 17.  
 Μενεκράτους *see* ἐποίκιον M. λεγόμενον.  
 Μερμέρθα 3035 3.  
 Μούχης 3013 introd.  
 Νεμέραι 3049 B 13, 16(*del.*), 18(*del.*), 20.

Νέλα 3013 introd.  
 \*Οσορονώφριος 3047 30, 44.  
 Οδονέ 3052 10.  
 Πακερκή 3046 1, 14, *back*.  
 Περ[ 3052 7.  
 Πτολεμαίς (sc. "Ορμου) 3052 10.  
 Σατύρου 3046 32 (C. ἐποίκ.) 3048 18, 21 (C. ἐποίκ.?).  
 Σένεπτα 3013 introd.  
 Συναρύ 3013 introd.  
 Σοδὶς 3048 16.  
 Σχοῖβις 3047 18, 46.  
 Τακόνα [3052 11?] 3087 14.  
 Τῆς 3061 10.  
 Τυχωνεκῶτις 3047 34, 45.  
 Φάι(?) 3063 3.  
 Φοβῶου 3047 1, 47.  
 Χαλῶλις 3063 12.

### (c) TRIBES AND DEMES

Ἀλθαιεύς *see* Εὐθηροδότειος δ καὶ Α.  
 Αγ. [ (φυλή) 3054 6.  
 Διός *see* Ζεύς.  
 Εὐθηροδότειος δ καὶ Ἀλθαιεύς 3053 9.

Ζεύς (φυλή Διός) 3054 22.  
 \*Ρωμαία (or Ρωμιλία?) (φυλή) 3054 13.  
 Σεργία 3054 12?

### (d) MISCELLANEOUS

Ἀλεξάνδρον (κλήρος) 3046 32.  
 Ἀρτεμιδώρου δωρεά 3047 37.  
 γυμνάσιον *see* στοὰ τοῦ γ.  
 δικαστήριον (Alexandria) 3019 6.  
 \*Ἐπικράτους κλήρος 3047 24.  
 θέατρον 3072 3.  
 Κρητικῶν (amphodon) 3034 2.  
 Μενίκου καὶ [...]ταίου (κλήρος) 3047 18 (μαν-  
 pap.).  
 Μηροδώρου (κλήρος) 3047 30.  
 Μουσειῶν 3047 3 3048 12.  
 Νεῖλος 3066 17.  
 οἶκος θεῶν Οὐεσπασιανοῦ καὶ Τίτου 3047 5, (8), 9,

(11), 19, 24, 35, 37.  
 παρεμβολή [3052 9?].  
 παρεμβολή Ἀγαθοκλέους 3052 7.  
 παρεμβολῆς ἀπηλιώτου χῶμα 3046 16?  
 πεδῖον, τὸ ἄνω 3074 6.  
 περίχωμα, τὸ κάτω 3047 34; τὸ μέσον 3047 36.  
 Ποιμενική (amphodon) (3033 introd.) [3077 10?].  
 Πολυνείκου (κλήρος) 3047 18.  
 σεβαστεῖον 3072 5.  
 Σεκεκιανή οὐσία 3051 7.  
 στοὰ τοῦ γυμνασίου (Alexandria) 3018 5.  
 Σωστράτου (κλήρος) 3046 15.

## VII. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

- ἀγορανομεῖν 3046 4 3051 2.  
 ἀγορανομεῖον (3053 6) (3054 4).  
 ἀνταρχιερεύς 3026 i 19.  
 ἀρχέφθοδος 3058 11.  
 ἀρχιερεύς (Pontifex) 3020 i i 1.  
 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος (Pontifex Max.) 3022 2.  
 ἀρχιερωσύνη [3072 2?].  
 ἀσχολούμενος ὄνην ἀγορανομείου (3053 6) (3054 4).  
 αὐθεντία 3048 i 3050 ii 18.  
 αὐτοκράτωρ 3021 i 8 3023 ii 8 [3073 7?] see also Index II.  
 βασιλεύς 3014 11.  
 βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς 3026 i 10, (15), (back 1) 3030 (1), (2), (22), (23?) [3073 16?] 3074 5.  
 βιβλιοθήκη 3026 i 22.  
 βιβλιοφύλαξ 3026 i 12.  
 βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων 3030 10.  
 βουλευτής 3028 20 (3048 13) 3049 A 1, 7, (B 2, 9) 3054 12, 21 (β. διὰ αἰῶνος?) 3075 introd.  
 γυμνα(σιστῆρ) 3034 14.  
 γυμνασιάρχῆν 3048 13 3049 A 3, 6, (B 4, 9) [3051 2].  
 γυμνασιάρχος 3063 4.  
 δεκαδάρχη 3028 12.  
 δεκάπρωτος 3049 B 9 3050 i 14, [15?], [29?].  
 δημαρχικὴ ἐξουσία (tribunicia potestas) 3020 i i 2 [3022 3].  
 δημόσιοι? 3054 23.  
 δημόσιον 3054 19.  
 διαλογισμὸς (τοῦ νομοῦ) 3033 7.  
 διέπων καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας [3076 4, 9].  
 δικαιοδοσία [3050 i 38?].  
 δικαιοδότης 3048 1, 11 [3050 i 31?] 3076 [4], 7.  
 διοικητής 3032 4.  
 εἰσαγωγεὺς 3062 15.  
 ἐκατόνταρχος 3029 (1?), 4.  
 ἐκλογιστής 3026 i 10, 14 3061 17, 19.  
 ἐντίμως ἀπολυθεὶς 3076 10.  
 ἐξηγ( ) 3034 13.  
 ἐξηγητής 3020 i i 12?, ii 1.  
 ἐξουσία see δημαρχικὴ ἐξ.  
 ἐπαρχία 3018 12.  
 ἑπαρχος 3014 11 3022 12.  
 ἑπαρχος Αἰγύπτου 3017 i [3071 1].  
 ἐπισκέπτης 3057 31.  
 ἐπισκέψαι, ὁ πρὸς ταῖς 3032 5 3046 8.  
 ἐπιστάτης εἰρήνης 3035 2.  
 ἐπιστρατηγ- 3050 ii 8.  
 ἐπιστρατήγος 3025 3 3064 11.  
 ἐπιτροπή, ἡ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου 3026 [i 5], (back 2).  
 ἐπίτροπος 3028 11 3064 5 3084 8.  
 ἐπίτροπος Ἀλεξανδρείας 3031 1.  
 ἐπίτροπος Ἐπτανόμιας 3031 2.  
 ἐρημοφύλαξ 3061 9.  
 ἡγεμονεῖν 3033 6 [3077 6].  
 ἡγεμονία (of emperor) 3022 8; (prefecture) 3050 ii 32 3076 9.  
 ἡγεμών 3016 i 3025 15 3042 5 3043 3 3048 6 [3072 8?] 3076 11 3084 3.  
 ἡγούμενος, ὁ 3082 8.  
 ἴδιος λόγος 3020 i ii 6 3026 i [5], 9, back (2), [3?].  
 καθολικός [3050 i 9?].  
 καῖσαρ 3019 5, [21?] 3020 i ii 1 3023 [i 5], ii 4 see also Index II.  
 κωμάρχη 3035 2 3064 10.  
 κωμογραμματεὺς 3047 1.  
 λογιστήριον 3074 1, [2].  
 νομικός 3015 16.  
 ξενοκρίτης 3016 4.  
 \*ὀπινιάτωρ [3029 4].  
 ὀριοδέκτης 3050 i 17.  
 παρεμβολή 3014 4, 3052 7, 9?, 3046 16.  
 πραγματεία 3025 9.  
 πραγματικός 3025 3 3026 ii 20 [3050 i 23?].  
 πράκτωρ 3027 3, 4.  
 πρεσβεία [3020 i ii 3].  
 πρέβυς 3019 10 3020 i i 4, [11], ii 2 3021 i 7, 9.  
 πρυτανεῖν 3048 13.  
 πρύτανις 3035 1 3049 A 7, (B 9).  
 σεβαστός 3021 i 8, 11 [3022 5] see also Index II.  
 σπεκουλάτωρ (3079 6).  
 στρατηγεῖν 3026 back 1.  
 στρατηγός 3018 13 3024 3 3025 1, (7) 3026 i 15, 17 3027 1 3029 2 3032 2 (3062 17) [(3067 17)] [3073 15] 3074 [1], [2], [4], 8, [10].  
 στρατηλάτης 3077 5.  
 στρατιώτης [3028 12].  
 συμβούλιον 3019 8.  
 σύμβουλος 3015 11, [15].  
 συστάτης 3036 14 3037 16 3038 22 3039 12 3040 9.  
 ταμεῖον 3026 i 20 3028 11, 25.  
 ταμεῖον 3048 9.  
 ὑπατικός Κυρίας 3076 2.  
 ὑπατος see Index II (Trajan), Index III.  
 ὑπηρέτης [3027 9?].  
 φύλαξ 3052 9 3055 3 3083 7.

## VIII. RELIGION

- ἀνταρχιερεύς 3026 i 19.  
 ἀρχιερεύς (Pontifex) 3020 i i 1.  
 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος (Pontifex Max.) 3022 2.  
 ἀρχιερωσύνη [3072 2?].  
 Ἐρμῆς see Index IV(b) s.v. ἡμέρα Ἐρμοῦ.  
 Ζεὺς Ἥλιος Καρᾶπις Νικαφόρος 3078 1.  
 Ζεὺς see also Index VI(c).  
 Ἥλιος see Ζεὺς Ἥ.  
 θεῖος 3076 9.  
 θεϊότατος 3023 ii 8.  
 θεός 3017 31? 3021 i 14 3022 6 3065 3 3069 20 see also Index II (Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian).  
 (-)θεῖν 3072 5.  
 ἱερόν 3021 i 15.  
 ἱερός 3073 6.  
 Ἰουδαῖος 3021 i [10?], 12.  
 νικαφόρος see Ζεὺς.  
 Καρᾶπις see Ζεὺς.  
 σεβαστεῖον 3072 5.  
 \*χρησιανός (I. Χρηστιανός?) 3035 4.

## IX. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

- ἀλλοτῆς 3058 18.  
 γεωργός 3019 16? 3048 20.  
 γραμματεὺς 3027 2, [10?] 3047 4, (43) 3055 1 3058 8 3062 17, cf. συγγρ(αμματεῦ-?).  
 δούλη 3053 15.  
 δοῦλος 3054 13.  
 ἐρμηρεύς [3074 7?].  
 ἱατρός 3078 3.  
 καταμήνιος 3048 20.  
 κυβερνήτης 3031 4 3079 [(1)?], 4, (5), 7, 9.  
 κύριος 3049 introd., A 4, B 5.  
 λινούφος 3086 5.  
 μάγειρος 3048 22.  
 μαροπόλης 3065 24, 26.  
 ναύκληρος 3049 A 12, B 16, (16 del.).  
 νομικός 3015 16.  
 οἰκονόμος 3051 1.  
 ὀνηλάτης 3042 7.  
 ὀρνιθᾶς 3055 2.  
 παιωνιστής 3018 6, 14.  
 παιδάριον 3048 20.  
 ποιμήν 3074 3.  
 πραγματευτής 3041 7 3048 15, 19.  
 σκηνικός 3024 12.  
 συγγρ(αμματεῦ-?) 3062 14.  
 σνοφορβός 3019 15.  
 \*ταπητᾶς 3044 5 3045 3.  
 τέκτων 3066 14.  
 τελώνης 3087 4 (ταιλ- pap.).  
 φιλόσοφος 3069 26.  
 φροντιστής 3048 20.  
 φύλαξ see Index VII.  
 .[.]ριστής 3043 5?

## X. WEIGHTS, MEASURES, AND MONEY

## (a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

- ἄρουρα (3046 21, 26, 28, 29bis, 31) (3047 6 et passim) 3050 i 12 (3051 6?).  
 ἀρτάβη [3031 5] (3048 16bis, 17ter, 23) 3049 A 10, B 14, (14) (3058 18, 19, 21(del.)) 3066 4 (3079 5, 7, 9) (3083 4, 6).  
 μέτρον δημόσιον ἡμιαρτάβιον 3049 A 10, (B 14).  
 μνά 3060 11.  
 στατήρ (3080 5).  
 χοῖνιξ (3061 7).  
 χοῦς 3080 4.

## (b) MONEY

- ἀργύριον 3014 8 (3042 7) 3043 5 3044 5 3045 4 3042 7, (9) 3043 5, (6) 3044 6 (τρ- pap.), (7) 3045 4, (5) 3051 8, (8) 3060 16 (3085 6) (3086 3) (3087 7).  
 δηνάριον (3048 6).  
 δραχμή 3036 10, (11) 3037 12, (13), 29, (31) 3038 15, (17) 3039 9, (10) 3040 6, (7) 3041 7, (8) μνά 3058 12, 14(em.).  
 τάλαντον 3086 2, (3).

## XI. TAXES

ἀριθμητικὸν τέλοςμα [3030 3?].  
ἐπικεφάλαιον 3039 I 3040 I 3042 I 3044 IO 3045 I.  
ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως 3036 I 3037 I 3038 I 3041 6  
3043 I.

αιτικοὶ φόροι 3028 I9.  
αιτικὸν (ὁ τὸ c.) 3058 I2.  
τέλεσμα 3018 I5 and see ἀριθμητικὸν τ.

## XII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἄβροχος 3046 9 (3047 6 et passim).  
(-)αγαγεῖν 3050 II 34.  
ἀγαθός 3057 22 3069 I5.  
ἀγειν 3033 3.  
(-)ἀγειν 3031 6?  
ἀγραφος 3060 5.  
ἀγροια 3014 I6.  
ἀγορά 3074 2.  
ἀγοράζειν 3053 II 3054 9.  
ἀγορανομεῖν, ἀγορανομεῖον see Index VII.  
ἀγρός 3069 23.  
ἀγυιά 3053 9, I9.  
\*ἀγυσιόμοτος 3047 5, 9, I9.  
ἀγωγή [3031 4].  
ἀδελφή 3067 3, 7.  
ἀδελφός [3031 9] 3033 5 3049 A 5, B 8 3057 2,  
7, I2, I4, 3I 3058 I 3059 I, 6 3060 I, I7  
3062 2, I3 3065 4, I8 3067 I, I5 3082 2, (I3)  
3083 4.  
ἀδιάθετος 3014 I.  
ἀδικεῖν [3074 8].  
ἀζήμιος 3048 5.  
Αἰγύπτιος see Index VI(a).  
αἰρεῖν 3049 A I7, B 22 [3071 I7?] see also ἐλέσθαι.  
αἰτία 3014 6.  
αἰτιᾶσθαι 3027 4.  
αἰών 3054 2I? 3065 8.  
\*ἀκαταλήρητος 3057 I7.  
ἄκατος 3053 I9.  
ἀκολουθεῖν [3014 I7].  
ἀκολουθία 3017 II.  
ἀκόλουθος 3030 9.  
ἀκολούθως 3042 3 3043 2 3044 I3.  
ἀκούειν 3065 6?  
ἄκυρος 3015 20 3040 II.  
ἀκωλύτως 3018 9.  
Ἀλεξανδρεὺς see Index VI(a).  
ἀληθής 3023 II II [3034 6].  
ἀλλά 3021 I [I3?], I4 3028 I7 3048 8 3050 II I4  
3057 6, 28 3065 I7 3069 I2, I9.  
ἀλληλέγγυοι 3049 A I6, B 2I.  
ἀλλήλων 3067 I3.  
ἄλλος 3014 I3 3018 II 3019 I3 3020 I I5 3026 II

24 3046 28 (3047 I, I3) 3057 I4 3059 5 3060 5  
3061 I4 3063 I5, 22 3069 I7 3076 I2.  
ἀλόγως 3066 7 3085 3, I2.  
ἀλυνία 3028 I3.  
ἄμα 3076 I2?  
ἀμάρτημα 3014 5.  
ἀμείβειν 3057 9.  
ἀμελεῖν 3061 I2.  
ἀμέμπτως 3086 4.  
ἀμπέλιον [3063 4?].  
ἀμπλος (3047 6, IO, 32) 3063 I3.  
ἀμφότεροι [3014 I5] 3015 7 (3077 3).  
ἄν 3028 II 3062 7 3063 23 3066 5? 3071 I7?  
3082 6 see also εἰάν.  
ἄν = εἰάν 3057 22.  
ἀναβαίνειν 3058 3, 5, 6, I5.  
ἀναγινώσκειν 3016 4.  
ἀναγκάτως 3067 4.  
ἀνάγκη 3061 I6.  
ἀναγράφειν (3047 6, 8, IO, I6, 22?, 22, 28).  
ἀναρρεῖν see ἀνελεῖν.  
ἀνακαλύπτειν 3081 8.  
ἀνακόμπειν 3015 25.  
ἀνακοινοῦσθαι [3015 I5].  
ἀναλαμβάνειν 3014 7.  
ἀνάλωμα 3085 I2.  
ἀναπέμπειν 3035 3 3066 4.  
ἀναπλέειν 3065 II.  
ἀναπληροῦν 3026 II 28.  
ἀνάστασις 3028 8.  
(-)ἀναστρέφειν see (-)στρέφειν.  
ἀνδραγαθεῖν 3069 I3.  
ἀνείσπρακτος [3018 I5?].  
ἀνελεῖν [3014 20].  
ἀνελεῖν 3035 5 3064 I3 3066 I2 3082 9.  
ἀνέρχεσθαι see ἔρχεσθαι.  
ἀνέτοιμος 3066 I6.  
ἄνευ 3049 A I4.  
ἀνήκειν 3026 I I3 3030 7, II, I3.  
ἀνήρ 3058 I6? (em.) 3069 I5.  
ἀνθρωποφαγία 3065 8, I7?  
ἀνιέναι, ἀνεμμένος 3057 26.  
ἀνίκητος see Index II (Augustus).

## XII. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἀνοίγειν [3075 2].  
ἀνταρχιερέως see Index VII.  
ἀντί 3063 I9.  
ἀντιγράφειν 3057 24 3063 7.  
ἀντίγραφον 3024 I 3025 4 3026 I 23, [II 27] 3032 3  
(3048 introd., IO).  
ἀντίληψις [3020 I II IO?].  
Ἀντινοεὺς see Index VI(a).  
Ἀντιοχεὺς see Index VI(a).  
(-)αντλεῖν [3066 I8].  
ἀνύειν 3048 4.  
ἄνω 3053 I6 see also Index VI(a) s.v. Κυνοπολίτης  
ἀ., VI(d) s.v. πεδίον.  
ἄξιος 3069 IO, 20.  
ἀξιοῦν 3019 I4.  
ἀξίως 3019 I2.  
ἀπαγγέλλειν 3062 9.  
ἀπαιτ- 3028 I9.  
ἀπαιτεῖν 3058 I3 3085 I3.  
ἀπαίτησις 3028 2, 5, II, [23], 26.  
ἀπαρτίζειν 3058 9.  
ἄπας 3025 I3.  
ἀπειλή or -λεῖν 3028 I6.  
ἀπελθεῖν 3087 7? (ἀπαρθα for ἀπῆλθα?).  
ἀπέχειν 3017 II? [3051 4?].  
ἀπηλώτης 3046 I6 see also Index VI(a).  
ἀπό 3026 I I3, I9, 22, back 2, 3? 3028 II (corr. in  
aut ex ἐπί), I3bis 3031 3 3032 6 3033 2 3047  
5, 8, 9, II, I9, 20, 24, 32, 34, 37, 39 3048 I9,  
2I 3049 B 20 3050 introd., II I6 3053 I7  
3054 6 3061 IO 3064 2, 4 3074 7 3077 3  
3083 4 3085 9.  
ἀπογράφειν 3064 5 and see next.  
ἀπογράφεσθαι (3046 IO) 3047 4 3048 2, 7, I4  
3053 7, 20 3054 5.  
ἀπογραφή (3046 9) (3048 introd., IO) (3077 9).  
ἀποδιδόναι [3020 I I5] 3060 I7 3065 24, [24],  
[(26)], (26) (3070 IO).  
ἀποδιδράσκειν 3071 5.  
ἀποκείσθαι 3081 2.  
ἀποκόπτειν 3028 9.  
ἀποκρίνεσθαι [3023 II 8] 3074 9, [II], I2.  
ἀπολείπειν 3074 I2.  
ἀπολογεῖσθαι 3020 I II 8.  
ἀπολύειν see Index VII s.v. ἐντίμως ἀπολυθεῖς.  
ἀπομένειν 3066 7.  
ἀποστέλλειν [3031 5].  
ἀποφαίνειν 3027 5.  
ἀπόφασις 3016 4.  
ἀποχή 3036 I7 3037 36 [3038 24?] 3040 I2  
3049 A I3, B I9.  
ἀπροφασίστως [3071 6].  
\*ἀραιόφρων 3054 I6 (αρεο- pap.).  
ἀργυρικός 3051 5.

ἀργύριον see Index X(b).  
ἀρεστός 3057 23.  
ἀρετή 3069 I8.  
ἀριθμητικός see Index XI (ἀρ. τέλοςμα).  
ἀριθμός (3061 6).  
ἀριστερός 3053 I6.  
ἀρκεῖν 3030 I4.  
ἀρμόζειν 3028 5.  
ἄρουρα see Index X(a).  
ἀρσενικός 3063 I8.  
ἄρσην [3063 I9].  
ἀρτάβη see Index X(a).  
ἀρχέφοδος see Index VII.  
ἀρχή [3020 I II 5?] [3071 8?].  
ἀρχιερεὺς, ἀρχιερωσύνη see Index VII.  
ἄσχημος 3053 9.  
ἄσκησις 3069 9.  
ἀσπάζεσθαι 3057 29 3062 I6 3065 [I8], I9 3067 6.  
ἀσφάλεια 3015 24.  
ἀσχολεῖσθαι see Index VII s.v. ἀσχολούμενος.  
αὐθαίρετος 3014 6.  
αὐθεντία see Index VII.  
αὐλητής see Index IX.  
αὔριον 3048 4.  
αὐτίκα 3028 24.  
αὐτοκράτωρ see Index II, Index VII.  
αὐτός 3014 8?, 9 3015 2, I8, 23, 25, 26 3017 I8  
3021 I I5 3022 9 3024 II 3025 II bis 3026 I 2I,  
II I4 3027 4 3028 3, IO, I3, I8, 22 3035 5  
3048 5 3049 introd.ter, A 4, 5, B 5, 7, 8 3050  
II 6? 3053 II, I2 3054 9bis, 25? 3057 9 3058  
3, 7 3060 I2 3064 6, 7, II 3065 I4 3066 I5  
3069 23 3071 3, I5 3074 II, I2 3082 8 3083  
5, 9 3086 3 3087 I3, I5, I6, I8.  
αὐτός, ὁ 3017 I6 3026 I I5, back I 3037 20, 29  
3047 8, II, I2 3049 A 7, B (4), (9), I6 (del.),  
I8 (del.), (20) 3053 I7, I9 3054 I9, 20, 23?  
ἀφανής 3074 4.  
ἀφήλις 3033 introd. 3050 II 37.  
ἀφιέναι 3065 I7 3083 7.  
ἀφιστάναι 3066 I5 3069 9 3085 3.  
ἀφορμή 3057 I9.  
ἄχυρον 3066 6.  
βάρβαρος 3018 I3.  
βαρύνειν 3057 7.  
βασιλεύς see Index VII.  
βασιλικός (3047 IO, I5, 22, 28) see also Index VII  
(β. γραμματεὺς).  
βανκάλιον 3061 5.  
βῆμα 3017 5.  
βιβλεῖδιον 3017 3 [3027 2] 3076 3.  
βιβλιοθήκη see Index VII.  
βιβλιοφύλαξ see Index VII.

βιβρώσκειν 3063 11.  
 βλέπειν 3086 6.  
 βλέπειν 3059 3, 4.  
 βοήθεια [3050 ii 16].  
 βορρᾶς 3083 6.  
 βούλεσθαι 3015 12, 25 3025 12 3063 6 3066 7  
 3082 9.  
 βουλευτής see Index VII.  
 γαμῆν 3015 18.  
 γάρ 3018 8 3024 11 3025 13 3048 5 3057 13, 15,  
 18, 26 3059 5 3061 13 3063 13 3065 16 3067  
 11, 12 3082 10 (del.) 3086 6.  
 γε 3063 15.  
 γελοῖος 3057 24.  
 γένημα 3049 A 8, (B 11).  
 γενναῖοτατος see Index II (Philippi).  
 γένος 3014 17 3053 15.  
 γέρων 3083 7.  
 γεωργεῖν 3051 6.  
 γεωργός see Index IX.  
 γίνεσθαι 3014 14, [19] 3019 17 3028 21 3030 9, 12,  
 14 (3036 11) (3037 13, 31) (3038 17) (3039 10)  
 (3041 8) (3042 9) (3043 6) (3044 7) (3046 29)  
 (3047 6, 15bis, 17bis, 21, 22, 26, 27bis, 28, 29,  
 32, 35, 38) 3049 B (14), 18 (3051 8) 3053 12  
 3054 10, 21 (3055 6) (3056 3) 3057 26 3058  
 7, 10 3063 7, 9, 23 3065 7bis, 8 3074 6 3083 6,  
 8 3084 4.  
 γινώσκειν 3048 7 3059 3.  
 γινώριμος 3050 ii 11.  
 γινούς 3065 1.  
 γόνυ 3053 17.  
 γράμμα 3015 20 3049 introd. 3050 [i 37?], ii 22?  
 3067 13 3069 3.  
 γραμματεὺς see Index VII s.v. βασιλικὸς γρ., Index  
 IX.  
 γράφειν 3025 2 3026 i 11, 17, ii 19 3028 3 3049  
 introd., A 18, B 24 3050 ii 36 3057 24 3061 14,  
 19 3063 3, 23 3065 5 3067 5, 9 3068 3 3082 7  
 3084 6 3087 12, 15.  
 (-)γράφειν 3028 22.  
 γραφεῖον 3065 13.  
 γυμνασιάρχην, γυμνασιάρχος see Index VII.  
 γυμνάσιον see Index VI(d) s.v. τοῦ τοῦ γ.  
 γυναικεῖος 3060 9?  
 γυνή 3014 8 3015 17 [3023 i 9?].  
 δαπάνη 3049 A 13, B 17 3063 15.  
 δέ 3014 3, 9, 13, 15 3015 20 3020 i ii 2?, 9 3026  
 i 20, ii 24 3028 18 3030 12, 14 3048 16, 19  
 3049 A 14, B 4 3050 ii 13, 36 3057 5, 7, 9, 12,  
 24 3058 17, 19 3059 6 3063 15, 20, 21?, 22

3064 9 3065 6, 11, 12, 16 3082 5, 7, 9 3086 3, 5  
 3087 7?, 14, 18.  
 δέλη 3073 14.  
 δεῖν 3014 18 3024 14? 3063 9.  
 δέριον 3070 7.  
 δεῖρα 3066 11.  
 δεῖσθαι [3020 i ii 9?].  
 δέκα 3017 7, (16) 3055 5 3056 3.  
 δεκαδάρχη see Index VII.  
 δεκάπρωτος see Index VII.  
 δεκάτη 3026 i 6, back 2.  
 δελφάκιον 3061 3.  
 δεξιός 3053 17.  
 δεσπότης 3057 29.  
 δεύτερος 3015 24 3025 5.  
 δῆλος 3025 9.  
 δηλοῦν 3020 i 7 3026 i 20, 24? 3028 3, 6 3030  
 8 3053 10 [3054 7] 3061 20 3063 18 3065 5,  
 [10] 3066 11 3082 4.  
 δημοαρχικός see Index VII (δ. ἐξουσία).  
 δῆμος 3020 i 3.  
 δημοσία 3025 4.  
 δημόσιοι, -ον see Index VII.  
 δημόσιος 3025 12 3048 4 3058 21 see also Index  
 X(a) s.v. μέτρον.  
 δημόσιον see Index X(b).  
 διά c. acc. 3019 16 3048 22 3057 7, 20, 28 3059  
 4, c. gen. 3025 8, 10 3028 1, 10 3030 3 3040  
 9 3047 3, 14, 43 3048 13 3050 ii 3 3053 5, 10  
 3054 3, 7, 19, 21?, 23? 3057 25 3058 5  
 3061 3 3065 12 3066 4 3067 4, 12 3074 7?  
 διαγινώσκειν 3017 15 3027 3.  
 διαγράφειν 3036 1 3037 1 3038 1 3039 1 3040 1  
 3042 1 3043 1 3044 10 3045 1.  
 διάθεσις 3022 10 3057 10.  
 διαθήκη 3075 2.  
 διαῖτα 3069 6.  
 διακόσιοι 3036 11 3037 13, 30 3038 17 3039 10  
 3041 8 3043 6 3065 13bis.  
 διαλογισμός see Index VII.  
 διαμένειν 3057 16.  
 διαπέμπειν 3063 16 3067 5.  
 διάρταβος (3047 32, 39).  
 διασημώτατος (3042 5) 3043 3.  
 διαταγή 3066 8.  
 διάταγμα 3017 6.  
 διάταξις 3050 ii 20.  
 διατάττειν 3024 5?, 10 3025 5.  
 διατελεῖν 3028 18.  
 διατίθεσθαι 3015 [4], 12, 26.  
 διατρέβειν 3069 23.  
 διαφέρειν 3026 i 20 3028 17 3030 12.  
 διαφθείρειν 3048 23.  
 διαφορά 3057 15.

διδόναι 3014 7 3015 21 3017 3 [3018 6?] 3027  
 9 3028 12 3048 19 3049 A 4, B 5, 6 3055 3  
 3056 2 3057 19 3058 11, 13 3060 13 (del.)  
 3062 9 3070 4, 7 3078 5 3085 8 3087 11, 15.  
 (-)διδόναι 3050 i 21.  
 διελθεῖν 3036 2 3037 2 3039 2 3040 2 3048 21  
 3049 A 9, (B 11) 3053 13, 17 (3077 7).  
 διέπειν see Index VII s.v. διέπων.  
 δικάζειν 3017 12 [3071 2].  
 δικαιοδοσία see Index VII.  
 δικαιοδοτεῖν [3015 3].  
 δικαιοδότης see Index VII.  
 δίκαιον 3015 25 3022 9, 16 3050 ii 9.  
 δίκαιος 3028 5.  
 δικαίωμα 3023 ii 6, 10.  
 δικαστήριον see Index VI(d).  
 (-)δίκη 3050 ii 13?  
 διό 3065 14.  
 διοικητής see Index VII.  
 διπλοῦς 3028 15?  
 δίπλωμα 3053 12 3054 9 3061 9.  
 δις 3049 A 18, B 24.  
 δικήλιοι 3044 6 3045 4.  
 δοκεῖν 3020 i 6 3063 4, 15 3067 12.  
 δουλαγωγία 3033 4.  
 δούλη, δούλος see Index IX.  
 δραχμή see Index X(b).  
 δύνασθαι 3015 19 3057 9 3082 10.  
 δυνατός 3020 i ii 4.  
 δύο 3066 4.  
 δωδέκατος 3014 9.  
 δωρεά see Index VI(d) s.v. Ἀρτεμιδώρου δ.  
 εἰ 3014 3 3017 7, [15?] 3030 12 3048 7 3058 6,  
 13 3061 14, 16, 17 (del.), 19 3065 17 3070 7  
 3083 5 see also ἄν.  
 εἰ = ἄν 3049 A 17, B 17, 22 3065 12.  
 εἶ 3069 10, 13.  
 εἶδομαι 3044 1.  
 ἐγγράφειν 3017 14, 17.  
 ἐγγράφος 3028 16.  
 ἐγκείσθαι 3028 17.  
 ἐγκτησις see Index VII s.v. βιβλιοφύλαξ ἐγκτήσεων.  
 ἐγώ 3017 5 3020 i 5, ii 7 3022 [7], 12 3023 i 11,  
 13, 14? 3024 14? 3025 2, 13 3026 i 10, 21  
 3027 2 3028 1, 15, 22, 23, 25, 26 3030 8bis, 15  
 3031 8 3033 introd., 3, 4 3040 9 3046 30 3047  
 33, 43 3048 16 3050 ii 9?, 11 3051 9 3057  
 8, 14, 18, 21bis, 24 3058 2, 4, 6 3059 3, 4 3060  
 4, 13 3061 8, 11, 20 3062 8 3063 17 3065 4,  
 14, 16, 17, 18 3066 8, 11 3067 5, 7, 9, 11 3071  
 2 3076 11 3078 2, 4, 5 3081 6, 7 3082 4 3084  
 6, 7 3085 11 3087 3, 12, 16, 21 see also ἡμεῖς.  
 ἔθος 3049 A 5, B 6, 7 3057 27.

εἰ 3017 2 3025 8 3028 14 3030 14 3049 A 14  
 3050 i 21? 3057 6 3058 11 (η pap.) 3059 5  
 3062 8 3063 11, 15 3066 11, 12 3070 4 (η pap.)  
 3071 10 3078 1 3087 11, 14.  
 εἰδέναι 3017 6, 17 3025 5 3026 ii 18 3030 14  
 3049 introd. 3050 i 29? 3061 13 3063 21 3064  
 3 3083 3 3084 5 3087 18.  
 εἶδοι see Index IV(b).  
 εἶλημα 3060 6 (α- pap.).  
 εἶναι 3015 2, 20 3017 19 3020 i ii [1?], 4 3023 ii  
 11 3025 9 3026 i 21 3028 [14], 22 3034 7 3040  
 11? 3048 4 3049 A 16bis, B 20, 21 3050 i  
 18? 3057 6, 17, 22, 23 3058 13, 17 3061 20  
 3063 10, 11, 14, 16 3065 8, 9?, 12, 16 3066 16  
 3067 11 3069 7, 10, 18 3070 6 3074 4 3082 11  
 3086 5.  
 εἰπεῖν [3019 21?] 3023 i 5, ii 4 [3064 11] 3066 8  
 (3074 8).  
 εἰρηγεῖν 3057 19.  
 εἰρήνη 3022 14 see also Index VII s.v. ἐπιστάτης  
 εἰρήνης.  
 εἰς 3014 18 3015 24 3017 18 3019 8 3020 i 4  
 3025 9 3028 9 3030 5 3033 4 3046 19, 23, 26,  
 33 3047 5, 8, 9, 11, 12bis, 14, 19, 24, 32, 34, 37,  
 39 3049 A 17, B 22 3050 ii 13 3051 4 3052  
 2bis, 3, [3], 4, 5bis, 7, 9 3055 4 3056 2 3062 4  
 3063 12, 13, 17 3064 6, 8 3067 4 3068 2, 3  
 3071 17? 3072 3 3074 6 3081 6, 7 3083 6  
 3087 8, 13, 17.  
 εἰς 3015 23 3056 3.  
 εἰσάγειν [3014 18].  
 εἰσαγωγέος see Index VII.  
 εἰσέλθειν 3021 i 4.  
 εἰσέναι (εἶμι) 3045 2.  
 εἰσκαλεῖν 3019 10.  
 εἰσπράττειν 3017 12.  
 εἴσω 3071 11.  
 εἶτα 3022 11 3052 9bis, 10ter, 11.  
 ἐκ 3014 13 3015 8, 23 3022 16 3028 26 3046 15,  
 32 3047 18, 19, 24, 30, 34 3048 1, 22 3049 A  
 17bis, B 22, 23 3053 16 3054 25? 3065 7 3076 9  
 3087 11.  
 ἐκαστος 3020 i ii 4 3022 15 3050 i 26.  
 ἐκατόνταρχος see Index VII.  
 ἐκατοστή 3049 A 11, B 16.  
 ἐκδικεῖν 3048 8.  
 ἐκεῖ 3072 3 3083 8.  
 ἐκκόπτειν 3047 10, 20 3063 3, 7bis, 8ter.  
 ἐκλέγεσθαι 3015 22.  
 ἐκλογιστής see Index VII.  
 ἐκτεῖναι 3049 A 17, B 22.  
 ἐκτίνειν 3049 A 15.  
 ἔκτος 3051 12.  
 ἐκφόριον 3051 5.

ἐλαία 3063 22.  
 ἔλαιον 3048 23 (ελεον pap.) 3080 4.  
 ἐλάττων 3050 i 12 3063 21(-cc-).  
 ἐλέσθαι [3014 6] 3028 4.  
 ἐλθεῖν 3020 i 4 3065 16.  
 (-)ελθεῖν 3050 ii 15.  
 Ἐλληρ, Ἐλληνικός see Index VI(a).  
 ἐλίς 3028 9.  
 ἔμαντοῦ 3022 11.  
 ἐμβολή 3082 11.  
 ἐμός 3024 13.  
 ἔμπροθεν 3020 i 7 3051 7.  
 ἔμφορος 3047 7.  
 ἐν 3014 8 3018 5? 3019 4, 6 3020 i 7 3022 8? 3025 12 3026 i 22 3028 3, 22 3047 3, 6, 7, 10, 32 3048 2bis, 16bis, 17ter, 18, 21 3049 A 8, B 11, 13 3053 5, 9, 13, 18, 19 3054 3, 10, 19, 22, 23? 3057 16 3058 17, 19, 20?(del.?), 21 3060 6, 9 3061 6, 7 3063 10, 12 3065 15?, 26? [3066 5] 3069 7, 21, 23 3072 5 3082 11 3084 3 3085 5 3086 5, 6.  
 ἔναρχος 3049 A 7, B 9.  
 ἔνατος 3044 i (αν- pap.).  
 ἐνέγκαι 3083 7, 8.  
 ἔνεκα 3057 14 3058 3 3060 14.  
 ἔνεκεν 3064 5, 12 3083 6.  
 ἐνθα 3048 8.  
 ἐνθάδε 3061 16 3065 6.  
 ἐνιστάται 3030 5 3032 7 3038 3 3042 2 3046 11 3047 4 3053 7 3054 5.  
 ἐνοχλεῖν 3082 6.  
 ἐνταῦθα 3030 10.  
 ἐντέλλειν 3028 16.  
 ἐντεῦθεν 3067 10.  
 ἐντίμως see Index VII (ἐν. ἀπολυθείς).  
 ἐντολή 3020 i 5 3025 15 3080 1.  
 ἐντός 3017 7, 15.  
 ἐντυγχάνειν 3017 5, 9 [3033 5] 3050 [i 27], ii 7.  
 ἐξάγειν 3069 12.  
 ἐξάιρετος [3022 5].  
 ἐξακόσιοι [3031 5] 3042 8.  
 ἐξ αυτῆς 3035 3 3083 7.  
 ἐξείναι 3015 25.  
 ἐξετάζειν 3026 ii 12?  
 ἐξέτασος 3025 14 3026 ii 21, [24?].  
 ἐξηγεῖσθαι 3015 9.  
 ἐξηγητής see Index VII.  
 ἐξουσία 3015 12, 21 see also Index VII s.v. δημαρχική ἐξ.  
 ἔξω 3065 15.  
 ἐπάγειν 3057 18.  
 ἐπαγρυπν- 3028 15.  
 ἐπαυεῖν 3069 10.  
 ἐπακολουθεῖν 3049 B 18.  
 ἐπαναγκάζειν 3026 i 12.

ἐπαντλεῖν (3046 10, 21, 25, 31) (3047 6bis, 11, 12, 15, 17bis, 21, 23, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32) see also (-)αντλεῖν.  
 ἐπαντληγμός 3063 12.  
 ἐπαρχεία, ἐπαρχος see Index VII.  
 ἐπεὶ [3015 17?] 3023 i 12 3026 i 20 3058 2 3060 12 3061 11 3069 23.  
 ἐπέγειν 3083 5.  
 ἐπειτα 3067 8.  
 ἐπέρχεσθαι 3057 28.  
 ἐπερωτᾶν 3049 A 20, B 26.  
 ἔπεσθαι 3049 A 11, B 16.  
 ἐπέχειν 3017 11 3027 5.  
 ἐπί 3015 [4], 13, 17, 27 3018 16 3026 i 22 3028 4, 7, 20 3033 7 3049 B 16(del.), 18(del.), 20 3050 i 38 3053 17 3054 10 3061 10 3064 11 3065 9? 3066 10 3082 6.  
 ἐπι-, ἡ 3066 17.  
 ἐπιβάλλειν 3046 29 3047 33, 39.  
 ἐπιγινώσκειν 3057 22 3058 11 3075 3.  
 ἐπιγράφειν 3049 introd.  
 ἐπιδιδόναι [3027 2] 3047 43 3053 10 3054 7.  
 ἐπικαλεῖν see ἐπικ(λην).  
 ἐπικάρσιον 3060 4 3062 3.  
 ἐπικεφάλαιον see Index XI.  
 ἐπικ(λην) (or ἐπικ(αλούμενος)) 3038 14.  
 ἐπικρατεῖν 3050 ii 19?  
 ἐπιμελῶς 3025 14.  
 ἐπισκέπτειν see Index VII.  
 ἐπίσκεψις see Index VII.  
 ἐπίσταμα 3030 15.  
 ἐπιστάτης see Index VII (ἐ. εἰρήνης).  
 ἐπιστέλλειν 3026 [i 21], ii 15?, 17, 22 3028 10, 22 3030 5 3049 A 12, B 15.  
 ἐπιστολή 3017 4, 9 3025 11 (3026 ii 27) 3028 15 3032 3 3057 3, 25 3063 6, 16 3065 4, 14 3085 8.  
 ἐπιστρατηγ-, ἐπιστράτηγος see Index VII.  
 ἐπιτάττειν 3018 14.  
 ἐπιτελεῖν 3069 14.  
 ἐπιτρέπειν 3078 2 3087 9 (αιπ- pap.), 16 (αιπ- pap.).  
 ἐπιτροπή see Index VII.  
 ἐπίτροπος 3048 14 see also Index VII.  
 ἐπιφανέστατος see Index II (Philippi, Diocletian and Maximian).  
 ἐπιφέρειν 3049 A 13, 19bis, B 19, 25, 26.  
 ἐποίκιον 3046 18, (32) (3048 21?).  
 ἐπτά 3018 10.  
 ἐπτακόσιοι 3051 8.  
 ἐργάζεσθαι 3066 13 3087 7, 13.  
 ἔργον 3022 17 3028 7.  
 ἐρημοφύλαξ see Index VII.  
 ἐρίδιον 3060 11.  
 ἔριον 3057 22.

ἐρμηγεύς see Index IX.  
 ἐρχεσθαι 3066 5(or αν-) 3087 17.  
 ἔσπερα 3084 5.  
 ἔστε 3082 6.  
 ἔτερος [3015 14] 3027 3, 4 3030 11 3049 A 5, B 7 3057 20 3062 10.  
 ἔτι 3028 18 3048 21 3086 2.  
 ἐτοιμάζειν (ετοιμα[ε]α- pap.) 3066 15.  
 ἐτόμως 3066 11.  
 ἔτος (3015 6) 3016 2 (3018 5) 3020 i 7? 3025 5 (3026 i 7, 17, 22, 23, 26, back 2) (3027 6) 3030 4, 5, (17) (3032 8) (3034 8) (3035 6) (3036 3, 12ter) (3037 3, 14ter, 21bis, 22, 32bis, 33) (3038 3, 4bis, 18bis, 19) (3039 11) (3040 8) (3041 1ter, 9bis) (3042 2) (3043 7) 3044 1?, (2), 11, (11) (3045 2bis) (3046 11) (3047 4, 6ter, 8, 10bis, 11, 13, 16bis, 20, 21bis, 22, 23, 25bis, 26, 30, 31quater, 32, 33, 35 bis) (3048 9, 24) (3049 A 9, 20) (3050 ii 35, 43) (3051 11) 3053 1, (9), (14), (16), (18) 3054 (7?), (15), 20 (3055 7) (3056 7) (3077 7) 3087 19.  
 εὔδηλος 3022 16.  
 εὐεργεσία 3022 6.  
 εὐθηνία 3022 15.  
 εὐρησιλογία 3049 A 14.  
 εὐρίσκειν 3048 7, 8 3065 9 3066 12 3074 11.  
 εὐεβής see Index II.  
 εὐσταθής 3022 14.  
 εὐτυχεῖν 3065 22? 3084 7.  
 εὐτυχεστάτος 3029 5.  
 εὐτυχής see Index II.  
 εὐφημία 3072 6.  
 εὐχαριστεῖν 3059 5.  
 εὐχεσθαι (3027 6) 3029 7 [3030 16] (3031 8) 3057 16 3060 15 3062 12 3065 3, 21 3067 14 3082 12 3083 9 3084 6 3086 7.  
 εὐώνυμος 3054 17.  
 ἐφίππιον [3060 2].  
 ἐφιστάται 3082 5.  
 ἔχειν 3015 [2?], 12 3018 4 3022 9 3047 4 3048 2, 3, 15 3049 A 8, B 11 3057 15, 27 3059 5 [3063 20?] 3066 5, 12 3074 10bis 3076 8 3085 4, 10 3087 20.  
 ἐχθρός 3074 10.  
 ἔψιν 3061 6.  
 ἔως 3026 i 23, back 2 3032 6 3058 14 3063 23 3066 5.  
 ζεῦγος 3063 12, 14.  
 ζημοῦν 3014 12.  
 ζῆν 3065 17.  
 ζητεῖν 3058 9.  
 ζήτησις 3050 i 13.  
 ζμαράγδινος 3060 6.

ἡ 3014 5, 11 3017 4 (ει pap.), 5, 9, 11, 12bis 3020 i 8 (ει pap.) 3035 5 3057 14 3060 12 3063 11 3066 5 3069 16bis, 17 3071 10 3083 8bis.  
 ἡγεῖσθαι 3025 10 see also Index VII s.v. ἡγούμενος.  
 ἡγεμονεύειν, ἡγεμονία see Index VII.  
 ἡγεμονικός 3014 19.  
 ἡγεμών see Index VII.  
 ἡδεσθαι 3069 4.  
 ἡδη 3015 20 3019 17, 20? 3065 4 3085 10.  
 ἡλιος 3059 2, 3, 5.  
 ἡμεῖς 3020 i 2, 4 3048 6 3049 A 13, 16, 17, 18, B 17, 21, 22, 23 3057 10, 18 3058 4, 8, 10 3067 8 3070 4, 8 [3077 9] 3083 3 3086 5bis 3087 17 see also ὑμεῖς.  
 ἡμέρα 3017 7, 16 3029 5 3053 7 3054 5 3065 11 3071 11 3081 4 see also Index IV(b) s.v. ἡμ. Ἐρμωδ.  
 ἡμέτερος 3069 5 see also ὑμέτερος.  
 ἡμιαρτάβιος see Index X(a) s.v. μέτρον.  
 ἡμικς 3014 13 (3046 29bis) (3047 8).  
 ἡμυτρίβης [3060 3, 4].  
 ἡμεῖν 3057 28.  
 ἡρος see Index II (Augustus).  
 ἡττων 3014 17.  
 θανάζειν 3063 11.  
 θέατρον see Index VI(d).  
 θεῖος, θεϊότατος see Index VIII.  
 θέλειν 3057 7, 13 3063 19 3064 3, 13 3065 16.  
 θεός see Index VIII.  
 θεραπεία 3078 3.  
 θεραπεύειν 3060 3.  
 θήκη 3080 6.  
 θηλυκός 3063 [19], 20.  
 θησαυρός 3058 21.  
 θρησκευεῖν 3018 7.  
 θρυκοπία 3066 9.  
 θυγάτηρ 3047 2 3048 12.  
 (-)θύειν see Index VIII.  
 ἱατρός see Index IX.  
 ἴδιος 3015 22 3018 16 3022 10 3026 ii 18 3028 14 3049 A 13, B 17 see also Index VII s.v. ἴδ. λόγος.  
 ἰδιωτικός (3047 6, 10, <16>, 20, <23>, <28>, 30).  
 ἰδοῦ 3063 8 3087 19.  
 ἱερόν, ἱερός see Index VIII.  
 ἱερώτατος [3028 11?] 3048 9.  
 ἱμάτιον 3060 13.  
 ἱματοφορίς 3057 4.  
 ἴνα 3022 13 3025 5 3026 ii 18, 19, 22 3028 13 3030 6? 3050 i 19 3057 17 3060 14 3065 24, 26 3066 2, 16 3084 5 3085 12.  
 Ἰουδαῖος see Index VIII.  
 ἴσος 3085 9.

ἔτος 3062 3.  
 ἔχας 3065 13.  
 ἔως 3028 15.  
  
 κάειν 3066 10.  
 καθάρως 3049 B 19.  
 καθήκειν 3071 10.  
 καθίζειν 3019 5 3021 i 2 [3072 3?].  
 καθιστάειν 3025 9, 13 3028 4.  
 καθολικός *see* Index VII.  
 καθός 3015 12 3087 3.  
 καί *passim*.  
 κανός 3057 6 3060 6.  
 κανώτερος 3015 17.  
 καινουργεῖν 3018 8.  
 κaisar *see* Index II, Index VII.  
 καίτοι 3066 7.  
 κακός 3065 15?  
 καλαμεία 3087 5.  
 καλεῖν 3019 9.  
 κάλλιστος 3015 2.  
 καλός 3057 5.  
 καλῶς 3015 4 3061 8 3070 5 3082 3 3085 3, 6.  
 κάμπτρα 3060 10.  
 κανίσκιον 3060 7.  
 κανών 3028 14.  
 καρποθεῖν 3017 10.  
 κάρυον 3065 13 (καρου- pap.).  
 κασιτέρωνος 3060 8? (κασιτ- pap.).  
 κατά 3014 16 3015 13, 19 3018 7, 12 3020 i i 10?  
 3022 15 3028 2 3030 4 3046 6 3048 14 3049  
 A 5, 15, B 6 3050 ii 17 3053 12 3054 9, 18, 22  
 3057 20 3058 16? 3076 12 [3077 3].  
 καταλαμβάνειν 3062 5.  
 καταλείπειν 3015 26 [3065 12].  
 καταμήμιος *see* Index IX.  
 κατανέμειν 3074 4.  
 κατάπλους 3053 17.  
 κατασπορά 3066 9.  
 κατάστασις [3025 3].  
 \*κατεμπατεῖν 3021 i 16.  
 κατέχειν 3015 19, 22.  
 κατοικικός 3046 25 (3047 20, 26, 30, 38).  
 κάτω *see* Index VI(d) s.v. περίχωμα.  
 κείθειν 3074 11.  
 κελεύειν 3019 9 3025 4 3028 24 3042 4 3043 2  
 3044 3, 13 (3046 6) 3048 15.  
 κεράμιον 3060 7 (3061 15?) 3063 22 3081 1.  
 κεφαλή [3074 13?].  
 κλείς 3057 13.  
 κλη( ) 3047 36.  
 κληρονομεῖν 3014 2, 15.  
 κληρονόμος 3015 23, 26.  
 κληρός 3047 24, (27).

κοινός 3019 12 3022 15.  
 κοινωρεῖν 3086 4.  
 κοινωνός 3043 8 3044 8 3045 6 3058 2, 6.  
 κοίτη (3049 introd.?).  
 κολλάζειν 3014 5.  
 κομίζειν 3057 3 [3059 7?] 3060 2, 10 3061 3  
 3062 5 3063 21 3069 3.  
 \*κονδός 3054 16.  
 \*κοντόρις *see* *pres.*  
 κοπρία [3014 20].  
 κόπτειν 3063 11.  
 \*κουκκ[.]λος (= *cucullus*) 3060 5.  
 κραβάτιον 3060 8 (κραβατην pap.).  
 κράτιστος 3025 2, 15 [3028 18] 3032 4 3046 7  
 3048 1, (11) 3076 7 3084 3.  
 κρέας 3061 5.  
 κρέιπτον 3082 5.  
 κριθή 3061 7.  
 κρίκος [3080 8?].  
 κτήμα 3066 18.  
 κτήσις 3048 16.  
 κυβερνήτης *see* Index IX.  
 κύθρα 3061 5(*del.*).  
 κυρία, ή 3060 12 3065 14 3087 1.  
 κύριος 3028 26 3049 A 18, B 24.  
 κύριος, ό 3021 i 11 3024 9 3028 1 3031 8 3084  
 6, 7 *see also* Index II, Index IX.  
 κωμάρχης *see* Index VII.  
 κόμη 3035 3 3046 14 (3047 1, 15, 28) 3049 B 13  
 3064 2.  
 κωμῆτης 3064 7.  
 κωμογραμματεὺς *see* Index VII.  
  
 λαγύνιον 3080 6.  
 \*λαδικηρόν [3080 3?].  
 λαμβάνειν 3017 8, 21 3028 18 3048 5 3057 6, 22  
 3063 5 3065 14 3066 2 3086 2.  
 λάμπειν [3028 9?].  
 λαμπρός [3028 9?].  
 λαμπρότατα 3077 6.  
 λαμπρότατος 3048 6.  
 λέγειν 3015 8, 16, 20 3017 2 3021 i 10 3023 i 5,  
 [ii 4?] 3046 19 3050 introd. 3063 9 3070 1  
 3071 1 3084 3 *see also* εἰπεῖν.  
 λείπειν 3058 22.  
 λειτουργία 3064 8, 12.  
 \*λέντιος 3060 7.  
 λευκός 3060 9, 14.  
 λευκόχρους 3054 15.  
 λήγειν 3030 4.  
 λινούφος *see* Index IX.  
 λογιτήριον *see* Index VII.  
 λόγος [3051 5, 9] 3057 12 *see also* Index VII s.v.  
 ἴδιος λ.

λοιπός 3086 5.  
 λοιπός 3017 19 3069 14 3083 4 3086 3.  
 λούεσθαι 3052 4, [5], 6, [7?], 8.  
 λυπεῖν 3020 i 6.  
 λώτινος 3060 11 (λωδ- pap.).  
  
 μάγειρος *see* Index IX.  
 μάλα 3028 24.  
 μάλιστα 3069 4, 8.  
 μάλλον 3028 18.  
 μαρτυρεῖν 3069 5.  
 μεγαλειότης [3028 6].  
 μέγιστος 3022 17 *see also* Index II, Index VII s.v.  
 ἀρχιερεὺς μ.  
 μεθιστάειν 3071 8.  
 μείζων 3014 5 3057 6.  
 μέλλειν 3028 9 3065 [5], 10? 3067 3.  
 μέν 3014 12 3017 15 3022 11 3028 16, 23 3048 16  
 3050 introd., ii 30 3058 17 3065 3 3067 6  
 3082 3 3087 11.  
 μένειν [3014 14] [3018 9?] 3051 8 3052 5.  
 μέντοι 3017 13 3030 9 [3050 i 24?].  
 (-)μερίζειν 3020 i ii 3.  
 μέρος 3014 12 3026 ii [18], 28 (3046 30) 3047  
 33, 39 3076 9 [3077 10?].  
 \*Μεσοποταμηνός *see* Index VI(a).  
 μέσος *see* Index VI(a) s.v. μέση τοπαρχία, VI(d) s.v.  
 περίχωμα.  
 μετά c. acc. 3015 14 3017 5 3019 13 3021 i 4  
 3028 25 3066 17, c. gen. 3019 6 3022 [9?], 13  
 3025 14 3049 A 4, B 5 3063 9 3065 14 3066  
 13.  
 μεταβάλλειν 3085 6 3086 3.  
 μεταδιατίθεσθαι 3015 4.  
 μεταδιδόναι 3026 i 23, ii 23 3030 13 3064 10.  
 μετακαλεῖν 3050 i 16.  
 μεταλαμβάνειν 3022 19.  
 μεταξύ 3050 i 18 *see also* μετοξύ.  
 μεταπέμπειν 3067 3.  
 μετέρχεται 3014 3.  
 μετέωρα 3058 4.  
 μετοξύ 3027 4 3057 22.  
 μετρεῖν 3083 5.  
 μέτρον *see* Index X(a).  
 μέτωπον 3054 16.  
 μέχρι [3018 7?] 3026 ii 14 3030 11 3087 5.  
 μή 3014 3, 18 3017 7 3026 i 19 3028 5, 14, 20  
 3030 14 3048 7 3049 introd., A 15 3057 17,  
 19 3058 13 3059 3, 4, 5 3061 12, 16 3062 8  
 3066 11, 14, 16 3069 8, 12, [15], 19 3070 6  
 3071 13 3082 6 3085 10 3086 3.  
 μηδέ 3017 20 3085 12.  
 μηθείς 3018 8 3027 5 3086 6.  
 μηκέτι 3057 12.

μήν 3028 1 [3029 3] 3048 21 (3051 12) 3053 4  
 3054 20.  
 μηνιαίος 3048 19.  
 μήτηρ 3065 15, 24, 27 (3077 2) 3082 4.  
 μηχανή 3066 16.  
 μικρός 3061 11 3066 14 *see also* Index VI(a) s.v.  
 Μικρά "Οασις.  
 μιμησκέσθαι 3022 7.  
 μισοῦν (3047 32, 39) 3087 8, 11.  
 μνᾶ *see* Index X(a) and (b).  
 μονάρταβος (3046 21, 25, 28, 30) (3047 11, 13, 15,  
 16, 17, 23bis, 28, 29, 30, 32, 38).  
 μόνον 3048 8 3049 B 18.  
 μόνος 3057 9 3082 10 3083 3.  
 \*μονόχωρος, ή 3057 13.  
 μόσχειος 3061 5.  
 μουσεῖον *see* Index VI(d).  
 μυριάκις 3063 3.  
 μυροπόλης *see* Index IX.  
  
 ναύκληρος *see* Index IX.  
 ναῦλον (3011 introd.).  
 νεώτερος 3080 7.  
 νικηφόρος (νικαφόρος) *see* Index VIII s.v. Ζεύς.  
 νομή 3050 ii 42.  
 νομίζειν [3022 18?] 3057 10.  
 νομικός *see* Index VII.  
 νόμιμος 3017 11.  
 νομιμάταςος 3028 23.  
 νομός 3026 i 16, ii 4?, 20, back 1 [3029 2] 3030 11,  
 13 3033 7 3048 2 3064 4.  
 νόμος 3015 2?, 3, 10, 20 3049 A 15.  
 (-)νομος 3050 ii 28.  
 νῦν [3018 7?] 3021 i 13 3030 12 3063 10 3065 8,  
 9 3069 23.  
  
 ξενικός 3080 4.  
 ξενοκρίτης *see* Index VII.  
 ξύλον (3011 introd.).  
  
 ὄδε 3030 7.  
 ὄδος 3028 23.  
 ὀδύρεσθαι 3028 8.  
 (-)οικεῖν 3018 14?  
 οἰκία 3048 8 3055 5 3058 17, 19.  
 οἰκογενής 3054 25?  
 οἰκονομεῖν 3015 21.  
 οἰκονομία [3030 6].  
 οἰκονόμος *see* Index IX.  
 οἰκόπεδον 3050 ii 2.  
 οἶκος 3081 6, 7 *see also* Index VI(d).  
 οἶος 3065 7.  
 ὀκτώ 3060 16.  
 ὀλίγος 3063 13.



δόκλιρος 3028 19, 26.  
 δλος 3014 13.  
 δμνύνει 3034 3.  
 δμοιος 3014 6 3057 17.  
 δμοίως 3047 (11bis), (12), 21, 22, (25), (26) 3060 4.  
 δμολογείν 3049 A 8, 20, B 10, 27.  
 δμονοείν 3065 22.  
 δμόνοια 3057 15.  
 δηλάτης see Index IX.  
 όνομα 3025 10 3036 9 3037 10, 18, 28 3038 13 3039 8 [(3040 6)] 3041 6 3043 3 3044 3 3053 15 3054 13 3057 27 3065 11, 19.  
 \*δπινάτωρ see Index VII.  
 όπως 3027 3 3066 10.  
 όραν 3061 12 3067 13.  
 όρίζειν 3017 16 3048 6.  
 όριοδείκτης see Index VII.  
 όριον 3087 4, 13, 14, 20.  
 όρνιθας see Index IX.  
 όρνιθιον 3056 3.  
 ός 3014 18 3015 4, 17, 19, 27 3020 1 i 3, 12?, ii 4? 3022 7, 16 3025 5, 8, 11, 14 [3027 4] 3028 1, 3bis, 10, 21, 22 3030 12 3031 4 3047 4 3048 6, 15 3049 A 12, 17, B 17, 22 3051 6 3053 10ter 3054 7, [8] 3057 21, 25 3059 7 3063 7, 9, 17, 18 3065 11, [12], 12 3067 10 3069 4, 6 3071 17? 3085 9.  
 όσος 3030 9 3048 2.  
 όσπερ 3084 5.  
 'Όσροηός see Index VI(a).  
 όστις 3048 4 see also ότιοῦν.  
 όταν 3014 2 3057 26 3063 10.  
 ότι 3017 7 3048 7 3064 3 3065 5, 15 3069 11, 12 3070 3 3087 19.  
 ότιοῦν 3017 10.  
 οὐ 3015 2? 3020 1 ii 8 3025 10 3048 7 3057 5bis, 7, 9, 13, 27 3058 5 3059 5 3060 10 3061 11, 15 3063 13 3065 8, 17 3069 11 3070 6 3074 [10], 11 3082 10 3083 6 3085 3 3086 5 3087 9, 12, 16.  
 οὐδέ 3026 ii 14.  
 οὐδείς 3017 18 [3026 i 20] 3069 18, 19.  
 οὐδέποτε 3065 7.  
 οὐκέτι 3070 6.  
 οὐκουν (οὐκουν οτ οὐκουν) 3015 23.  
 οὐλή (3053 16) 3054 16.  
 οὐν 3057 20 3058 6, 14 3061 12 3066 11, 15 3069 10, 13 3083 5, 8 3085 6 3086 3.  
 Οὐρανία (boat ensign?) 3053 19.  
 ουργία 3018 4.  
 οὐσία (Ceneκιανή) 3051 7.  
 οὕτε 3015 17, 18 3017 10 3028 7 3083 7.  
 οὗτος 3015 20 3017 4, 6 3018 7? 3020 1 ii 1?

3021 i 3, 4 3022 9, 17? [3023 ii 10] 3028 7, 17 3030 7, 11bis 3033 5 3049 A 13, B 15, 19 3050 i 23, ii 5 3057 21, 27 3058 5 [3063 18?] 3066 10? 3067 4, 11 3069 11 3071 13 3078 4, 5 3082 7 3086 6 3087 20.  
 οὕτω 3050 i 19.  
 οὕτως 3017 20 [3076 8].  
 όφείλειν 3027 5 3028 25 3051 9 3071 14 3083 3.  
 όφείλημα 3017 13.  
 όφελος [3069 18].  
 όφθαλμῶν 3058 4.  
 όφθαλμός 3078 4.  
 όφρυς 3054 17.  
 παιανιστής see Index IX.  
 παιδάριον see Index IX.  
 παιδικός 3060 10.  
 παῖς 3015 26 3060 4.  
 πάλας 3086 2.  
 παλαιός 3057 6 3061 15.  
 παλαιότης 3048 22.  
 πάλλιν 3063 5.  
 πάλλιον [3060 9?].  
 \*παμπράσιον (πανπρασιον pap.) 3015 21, 27.  
 πανουκί (3084 7).  
 πανταχῆ 3049 A 19, B 25.  
 πάντως 3062 6.  
 πάνυ 3069 4.  
 παρά 3030 6 3032 1 3033 introd., 2 (3035 1) 3036 16? 3047 2 (3048 11) 3049 A 16, B 21 3051 4 3053 14 3054 11, 20? (3055 1) (3056 1) 3057 23 3058 20 3060 2, 16 3063 23 (3065 25, 27) 3066 3, 5, 13, (20) (3067 16) 3069 27 3076 6 (3077 1) 3081 3, 5 (3082 13).  
 παραγγέλλειν 3024 4? 3050 ii 10.  
 παραγίνεσθαι (3061 17).  
 παραδέχεσθαι 3057 25.  
 παραδιδόναι 3049 A 12, B 15 3064 7.  
 παράθεσις 3049 A 8, B 11.  
 παραθήκη 3049 A 15.  
 παρακαλεῖν 3057 11.  
 παραπίπτειν 3015 24.  
 παράστραβος 3054 17.  
 παρατιθέναι 3022 10 3026 i 24, ii 13.  
 παράτυπος 3080 5.  
 παραφέρειν see παρενέγκαι.  
 παρεῖναι [3020 1 ii 8?] 3057 27 3069 19 [3075 1].  
 παρεμβολή 3014 4 see also Index VI(d).  
 παρενέγκαι 3026 i 12.  
 παρέχειν 3022 7 3061 12.  
 παρίσθμια 3068 1.  
 παριστάναί 3057 11.  
 παρορισμός 3050 i 7, 11.  
 πᾶς 3018 15 3021 i 7 3022 13 3025 5 3026 ii 19

3028 6 3049 A 14, 18, 19, B 20, 23, 25 3057 30 3060 6 3062 10 3064 3 3065 3, 20.  
 πάτηρ 3015 18 [3022 6] 3051 6, 9, 10 3059 7.  
 πάτριος 3047 33, 39.  
 (-)παύειν 3050 i 20.  
 πεδίον see Index VI(d).  
 πέθειν 3025 12 3071 13.  
 πείρα 3057 18.  
 πειρᾶν 3057 20.  
 πέμπειν 3020 1 i 4 3027 3 3028 12 3059 7 3060 12 3061 8, 15 3062 7 3065 12 3066 2 3068 3 3069 22 3083 8.  
 περα(-) 3050 i 13.  
 περί 3015 10 3019 15 3023 i 14? 3025 3 3026 i 12, 19, 21 3028 26 3046 9, [14], 31 3047 4 3048 16 3050 i 11, ii 27 3057 12 3061 19 3065 3, 6 3067 9 3069 6 3082 4, 7.  
 περίσθμια 3068 1.  
 περιεῖναι 3015 18.  
 περιελθεῖν 3074 2.  
 περιέχειν 3068 4.  
 περιεστάναι 3061 16 3063 13.  
 περίσδος [3030 5].  
 περιεσός 3025 10 3063 14.  
 περίσωμα see Index VI(d).  
 πέταλον 3068 2.  
 πιστεύειν 3023 ii 9.  
 πιτάκιον 3068 3.  
 πλέειν 3065 5.  
 (-)πλέειν 3065 10.  
 πλειστάκις 3063 8.  
 πλείστος 3082 2.  
 πλέον 3065 15? 3082 6.  
 πλήρης 3057 23.  
 πληροῦν 3071 9.  
 πλοῖον 3031 3 3053 18 3079 1, 3, 5, 6, 8.  
 πλοῦτος 3069 16.  
 πόθεν 3074 8.  
 ποιεῖν 3015 23, 27 3025 11 3026 ii 21 3028 20 3053 11 [3054 8] 3057 12, 21 3061 8 3067 11 3069 7, 11 3082 3, 5 3085 4, 6, 11.  
 ποιμήν see Index IX.  
 πόλεμος 3065 8.  
 πόλις 3020 1 ii 7 3022 4 3048 2, 3, 22 3049 A 7, (B 9) 3054 19, 23 3064 6 3065 6, 9, 16, 17 see also Index VI(a) s.vv. Ἄντιωέων π., Ἐρμού π., 'Οξ. π., Index XI s.v. ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως.  
 πολιτεία [3014 19] 3071 [7], 15.  
 πολύς 3031 9 3050 ii 31 3062 16 3065 2, 4, 20, 21 3086 2, 5 3087 21.  
 πορφύρα 3080 5.  
 πορφυροός 3060 5.  
 πορός 3049 B 14.  
 πότερον 3063 18.

πράγμα 3015 10 3069 8.  
 πραγματεία see Index VII.  
 πραγματευτής see Index IX.  
 πραγματικός see Index VII.  
 πράκτωρ see Index VII.  
 πράξις 3049 A 16, B 20.  
 πράσσειν [3014 11] [3017 20?] 3027 5 3030 3.  
 πρεβεία, πρέβυς see Index VII.  
 πρεσβύτερος 3029 6 [3033 4].  
 πρίν 3028 9.  
 πρό 3017 5 3018 10 3019 3 3065 3 3086 2.  
 προάγειν 3028 6.  
 προαγορευ- 3071 6.  
 προάρεσις 3057 7, 10.  
 πρόγραμμα (3048 introd.).  
 προγράφειν 3034 7 3051 4, 6, 10.  
 προεῖναι 3021 i 12.  
 προίξ [3014 8?].  
 προϊστάναί [3074 3?].  
 προϊσχεσθαι 3071 4.  
 προκείσθαι [3048 19] 3053 21 3072 2.  
 προνοεῖν 3022 13.  
 προπετώσ 3028 7.  
 πρόσ 3015 [3], 7, [14] 3017 10 3019 18 [3020 1 i 5] 3022 5, [10] 3023 ii 5? 3026 i 17, 21 3030 8 3031 5 3032 5 3046 7, 10 3047 1, 4 3058 7, 10bis 3063 3, 7, 17 3064 11 3065 [16], 19 3068 1 3074 1, 2 3078 3 3080 1 3086 4.  
 προς(-) 3026 i 23 3028 17.  
 προσδέχεσθαι 3069 21.  
 προσελθεῖν 3023 i 8? 3064 4.  
 προσενέγκαι 3028 2.  
 προσήκειν 3025 14 3027 4.  
 προστάγμα 3014 11.  
 \*προσυναλλάσσειν οτ \*προσυπ- 3048 21?  
 προσφέρειν see προσενέγκαι.  
 προσφώνησις 3026 i 12, 22.  
 πρόσωπον [3050 ii 27?].  
 πρότερον [3020 1 i 8] 3028 13 (3046 22) (3047 36).  
 πρότερος 3015 24 3040 11 3057 25.  
 προτιθέναι 3018 10 3025 4, 8, 12 3050 i 27 [3071 18?].  
 προτρέπειν 3057 18 3067 8.  
 προφέρειν 3019 12.  
 πρυτανείων, πρύτανις see Index VII.  
 πρών [3022 8?].  
 πρώτον 3022 11 3067 6.  
 πρώτος 3022 8 3081 4.  
 πυγίζειν 3070 5, 8 (ποιγ- pap.).  
 πυνθάνεσθαι 3015 9 3063 6.  
 πυρός 3048 8, 15 3049 A 8, (B 11) 3058 17, (18), (20? (del. ?)).  
 ράβδος 3060 10.



Ῥωμαία *see* Index VI(a) and (c).  
 Ῥωμαῖος *see* Index VI(a).  
 ῥαννίαι 3026 ii 25 3027 6 3030 15 3031 8 3057  
 30 3058 15 3060 15 3061 18 3062 11, 12 3063  
 24, (26) [3065 21] 3066 19 3067 14 3069 24,  
 25 3070 8, 9 3082 12 3083 9 3084 6 3085 14  
 3086 7 3087 21.  
 ράκος 3066 2.  
 \*καλώδιον 3060 9.  
 ρεβαστεῖον *see* Index VI(d).  
 ρεβαστός *see* Index II, Index VII.  
 Ρεσκεανός *see* Index VI(d) (C. οὐσία).  
 ρημαίνεω 3026 i 20 3030 9.  
 ρημιούνη 3027 3, (10) (3034 13, 14) (3036 15)  
 (3037 17, 35) (3038 23) 3039 13 3040 10  
 (3041 11) (3042 10) 3043 9 3044 8 3045 7.  
 ρήμερον 3063 6.  
 ρήσαμον 3066 3.  
 ριγών 3054 17.  
 ριτείεσθαι 3047 3 3048 12.  
 ριτικός *see* Index XI (C. φόροι, ριτικών).  
 ρίτος 3048 2 3060 14.  
 \*καφόπρωρος 3031 3.  
 (-)κρέπειν 3047 7?  
 ρικητικός *see* Index IX.  
 ρικυλάκιον 3069 22.  
 ρικύλλειν 3085 11?  
 ριμαράγδιος *see* ζιμαράγδιος.  
 ρός 3057 27, 30 3069 24.  
 Ρπανός *see* Index VI(a).  
 ρπίρειν 3063 9.  
 ρπεκουλάτωρ *see* Index VII.  
 ρπουδή 3086 6.  
 ρπατήρ *see* Index X(a).  
 ρπερειν 3021 i 13.  
 ρπαά *see* Index VI(d) (C. τοῦ γυμνασίου).  
 ρρατηγεῖν, ρρατηγός *see* Index VII.  
 ρρατηλάτης *see* Index VII.  
 ρρατιώτης *see* Index VII.  
 (-)ρρέφειν (ἀνα-?) 3050 i 4.  
 ρύ 3020 i ii 9 3021 i 11 3024 14? 3025 12  
 3027 3, 6 3028 2, 6 3030 5, 6, [14] 3031 5  
 3048 15 3049 A 8, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, B 11, 18,  
 19, 20, 26, 27 3050 ii 15, 16 3051 4, 6?, 10  
 3057 7, 11, 12, 23, 24, 29 3058 14?, 16 3059  
 4, 5, 6, 7 3060 15 3061 15 3062 7, 10 *bis*, 12,  
 16 3063 5, 15, 23 3065 11, 12, 16, 19 3066 2,  
 5, 8, 13 3067 6, 10, 14 3069 4, 6, [15], 21  
 3070 6, 7 3082 12 3083 8, 9 3084 6*bis* 3085  
 8, 13 3086 7 *see also* ὑμεῖς.  
 ρυγγενής [3014 2].  
 ρυγγρ(αμματευ-) *see* Index IX.  
 ρυγκαθήσθαι 3021 i 3?

ρυγκομυδή [3019 19].  
 ρυχωρεῖν 3014 10 3018 9 3049 introd. 3087 3.  
 ρυκάμινος (3011 introd.).  
 ρυλλαλεῖν 3015 11, [15].  
 \*ρυμβούλιον, ρύμβουλος *see* Index VII.  
 ρυμφέρειν 3078 4.  
 ρυμφωνεῖν 3015 17.  
 ρυμφωνία 3015 19.  
 ρύν 3033 3 3047 18 3049 A 11, B 16 3058 3, 7  
 3061 9, 17 3069 24 3080 6.  
 ρυνειλεῖν [3063 17?].  
 ρυνελθεῖν 3014 16.  
 ρυνεχής 3057 8.  
 ρύνθεσις 3060 3.  
 ρύνταξις 3048 19.  
 ρυντέλεια 3017 12.  
 ρυντριβεῖν 3074 13.  
 ρυνοφορβός *see* Index IX.  
 ρύριγξ 3057 5 (ρυνρ- pap.).  
 ρυστάτης *see* Index VII.  
 \*ρφαυρολήκνθος 3080 8? (ρφαυρο- pap?).  
 ρφραγίς 3075 4.  
 ρώζειν 3065 5 3069 20.  
 ρωτηρία 3065 3 3067 9.  
 ράλατον *see* Index X(b).  
 ραμείον, ραμείον *see* Index VII.  
 ράξις 3047 7.  
 \*ραπητάς *see* Index IX.  
 ραράσσειν 3069 16 3086 3.  
 ραρίχιον 3060 7 (ραραχ- pap.).  
 ράσσειν 3058 2.  
 ράχα 3065 6.  
 ρε 3018 13 [3020 i 5] 3032 4 3048 19 3049 A 16,  
 B 21 3050 i 11, 29?, ii 31 3067 9 3072 5.  
 ρέκνον 3014 17 3015 22.  
 ρέκτων *see* Index IX.  
 ρέλειος 3080 3.  
 ρελειούνη 3030 6 3054 19.  
 ρέλεγμα *see* Index XI.  
 ρελευτῶν 3014 i 3015 5.  
 ρελώνης *see* Index IX.  
 ρέταρτος 3014 12.  
 ρετραετηρίς 3030 3.  
 ρετρακόσιοι 3044 7 3045 5.  
 ρηρεῖν [3086 5].  
 ριθέβαι 3028 24.  
 ριμή 3048 6 3060 14 3063 14 3085 5.  
 ριμώτατος 3057 30 3083 2 3084 2.  
 ρις 3014 11 3015 17 3017 2 3048 7 3049 introd.  
 3050 i [21?], 24 3057 6, 15 3061 14, 19 [3069 17]  
 3071 10 3075 1*bis*.  
 ρίς 3023 ii 4? 3063 6.  
 ρόινον 3085 10.

ροιοῦτος 3017 14 3065 7 3069 7, 17.  
 ροπαρχία 3050 i 15 3074 3 *see also* Index VI(a)  
 s.vv. ἀπηλιώτην, Ἀράβια, μέση.  
 ρόπος 3025 12 3026 i 22, 24?  
 ροσοῦτος 3086 4.  
 ρράγημα 3065 12.  
 ρρεῖς 3049 A 2, (B 3) 3058 12 3060 8? 3063 11.  
 ρριάκοντα 3087 19.  
 ρριακόσιοι [3040 7].  
 ρρισχίλιοι 3043 6.  
 ρρόπος 3017 4.  
 ρροφή 3048 3 3063 15.  
 ρυγῆρειν 3017 3, 6 [3050 i 22?] 3058 4.  
 ῥβρις 3061 11.  
 ῥελοῦς 3060 7 3080 6.  
 ῥίος 3015 18 3033 introd., 4 3047 15 3061 1, 21  
 3064 9 3065 25 3067 7.  
 ῥμεῖς 3020 i 5, 6 3022 [4?] (η- pap.), 7, 10 (η-  
 pap.), 11, 14, [18?] 3026 ii [13], 15, 22, 25  
 [3029 7] 3035 5 3057 14, 16, 19, 20 3062 6  
 3064 3 3065 4, 5, 20, 21.  
 ῥμέτερος 3020 i 8 (ήμ- pap.).  
 ῥπάρχειν 3014 7 3048 5 3049 A 17, B 23 3053 11  
 3054 8, 25? 3071 3 3077 9.  
 ῥπατικός *see* Index VII (ῥπ. Κυρίας).  
 ῥπατος *see* Index II (Trajan), Index III.  
 ῥπέρ 3020 i ii [4?], 5, 6, 7 3029 3 3036 1, 9  
 3037 1, 10, 18, 28 3038 1, 12 (3039 1) (3040 1)  
 3041 5 3042 1 3043 1 3044 10, 11 3045 1  
 3048 3 3049 introd., A 19, B 26.  
 ῥπερ(-) 3050 ii 34.  
 ῥπέρθεσις 3049 A 14.  
 ῥπρησία 3055 4 3056 2.  
 ῥπρητεῖν 3060 13.  
 ῥπρητής *see* Index VII.  
 ῥπό 3014 9 3025 2, 13 3026 i 18, 21 [3027 2]  
 3030 8, [13] 3033 4 3042 4 3043 2 3044 3  
 3046 6 3048 15*bis* 3049 A 20, B 27 [3051 10]  
 3053 12 3054 9, 18 3059 4 3067 4 3069 13  
 3079 [3], 5, 6, 8 3087 9.  
 ῥπογράφειν (3029 2).  
 ῥπογραφή 3017 2, 8, 14, 17 [3050 i 22?].  
 ῥπολαμβάνειν 3025 13.  
 ῥπόλογος 3047 7 (3049 introd.?).  
 ῥπομνησκων 3023 i 11?  
 ῥπόμνημα [3023 i 13?] 3028 21 3053 10 3054 8  
 3071 12.  
 ῥπομνηματιμός (3016 1) 3025 8.  
 ῥπονοεῖν 3074 9.  
 ῥποπλατυπρόσωπος 3054 15.  
 ῥπόσχεσις 3028 20.  
 ῥποτάσσειν [3016 12?] 3028 21 3058 16.  
 ῥποτιθέβαι 3060 13.

ῥποφείρειν 3057 28.  
 ῥπερον 3054 14?  
 ῥπιτάβαι 3050 ii 12.  
 φαγεῖν 3060 14.  
 φαίνειν 3086 7.  
 φαινόλης 3057 4, 5.  
 φάβαι 3015 11, [16] 3028 10.  
 φανερός 3025 11 3030 12, 14.  
 φέρειν *see* ἐνέγκαι.  
 \*φίκις 3070 ad 5.  
 φιλαλληλία 3057 16.  
 φιλανθρωπία 3057 8.  
 φιλεῖν 3065 20.  
 φιλικός 3057 10.  
 φίλος 3019 7 3022 12 3059 8 3069 28 3080 2  
 3086 7.  
 φιλόσοφος *see* Index IX.  
 φίλτατος 3026 i 16 3030 6, (16) 3063 1, 24 3070  
 3, 10 3085 1 3086 1.  
 φόνος [3014 5].  
 φόρμιος 3050 introd.  
 φόρος 3051 5 (φόροι ἀργυρικοί) *see also* Index XI.  
 φορτικός 3028 14.  
 φροντίς 3022 13.  
 φροντιστής *see* Index IX.  
 φροῦδος 3069 19.  
 φυγή 3014 6.  
 φύλαξ *see* Index VII.  
 φυλάσσειν 3018 4 (-ττειν) 3063 23.  
 φυλή 3054 6, 13, 22.  
 χαίρειν 3018 14 3020 i 3 3025 7 3026 i 16 3027 1  
 3031 2 3049 A 7, B 10 3050 i 35 3055 2 [3056  
 1] 3057 2 3058 1 3059 2 3060 1 3061 2 3062 2  
 3063 2 3064 2 3065 2, 15 (*med.*) 3066 1 3067 2  
 3069 2 3082 2 3083 2 3084 2 3085 2 3086 1  
 3087 2.  
 χαρίζεσθαι 3057 21 [3067 12].  
 χάρτης 3061 6.  
 χείλος 3053 16.  
 χείλωμα 3061 7.  
 χείρ 3058 20? (*del.*?).  
 χειρογραφ- 3076 12.  
 χειρογραφία 3053 11 3054 8.  
 χειρόγραφον 3049 A 18, B 24.  
 χιάζειν 3057 3.  
 χίλιοι 3036 11 3037 12, 30 3038 16 3039 9  
 3040 7 3041 8 3042 8.  
 χιτώνιον 3060 5, 9.  
 χοῖνιξ *see* Index X(a).  
 χοιρίδιον 3085 5.  
 χόρτος 3063 10*bis*.  
 χόος *see* Index X(a).

INDEXES

χρεία 3048 4 3063 11, 16, 20.  
 χρωστέιν [3076 11?].  
 κρη(-) 3018 7.  
 κρήζειν 3061 14 3067 10.  
 κρηματίζειν 3043 4 3048 12, 14.  
 κρήν 3060 16.  
 κρήναι 3050 ii 30.  
 κρήσθαι 3078 2.  
 \*κρησιανός see Index VIII.  
 κρησιμος 3017 18.  
 κρησιανός see Index VIII s.v. κρησιανός.  
 κρόνος 3031 9 3051 7 3065 21 3086 4 3087 21.  
 κρυσοῦς 3068 2.  
 κύτρα see κύθρα.  
 χάμα [3046 17?].

ψιαθ- 3061 4.  
 ψυχή 3057 26.  
 ψωλή 3070 ad 2.  
 ὄμος 3074 13.  
 ὀνειρεῖσθαι (3047 13bis, 21, 25, 30, 35, 38) 3054 18.  
 ὀνή 3053 6 3054 4, 18, 23.  
 ὄν 3055 5, 6 3056 3.  
 ὄρα 3069 16.  
 ὄς 3015 20, 25 3023 ii 11 3025 4, 13 3028 5, 7,  
 10, 11, 23 3043 4 3048 12, 14 3053 9, 16, 21  
 3054 7, 15 3057 5 3062 5 3063 4, 14 3068 4  
 3069 15, 17 3072 2 3074 11.  
 ὥστε 3055 4 3064 10.

XIII. LATIN (3016)

adve[ 14.  
 agere 13.  
 de 13.  
 et 14?  
 is 14?  
 libertina 15.

mulier 13.  
 non 17.  
 quis 13.  
 (-)serv- 18.  
 videre 17, 21?













3051

(reduced)

3051  
 (reduced)  
 Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text in a cursive hand. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly in the middle and lower sections. The visible characters include various Greek letters such as alpha, beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, zeta, eta, theta, iota, kappa, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega, and the digamma (digamma).

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text in a cursive hand. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly in the middle and lower sections. The visible characters include various Greek letters such as alpha, beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, zeta, eta, theta, iota, kappa, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega, and the digamma (digamma).

3076

Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text in a cursive hand. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly in the middle and lower sections. The visible characters include various Greek letters such as alpha, beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, zeta, eta, theta, iota, kappa, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega, and the digamma (digamma).

3034

